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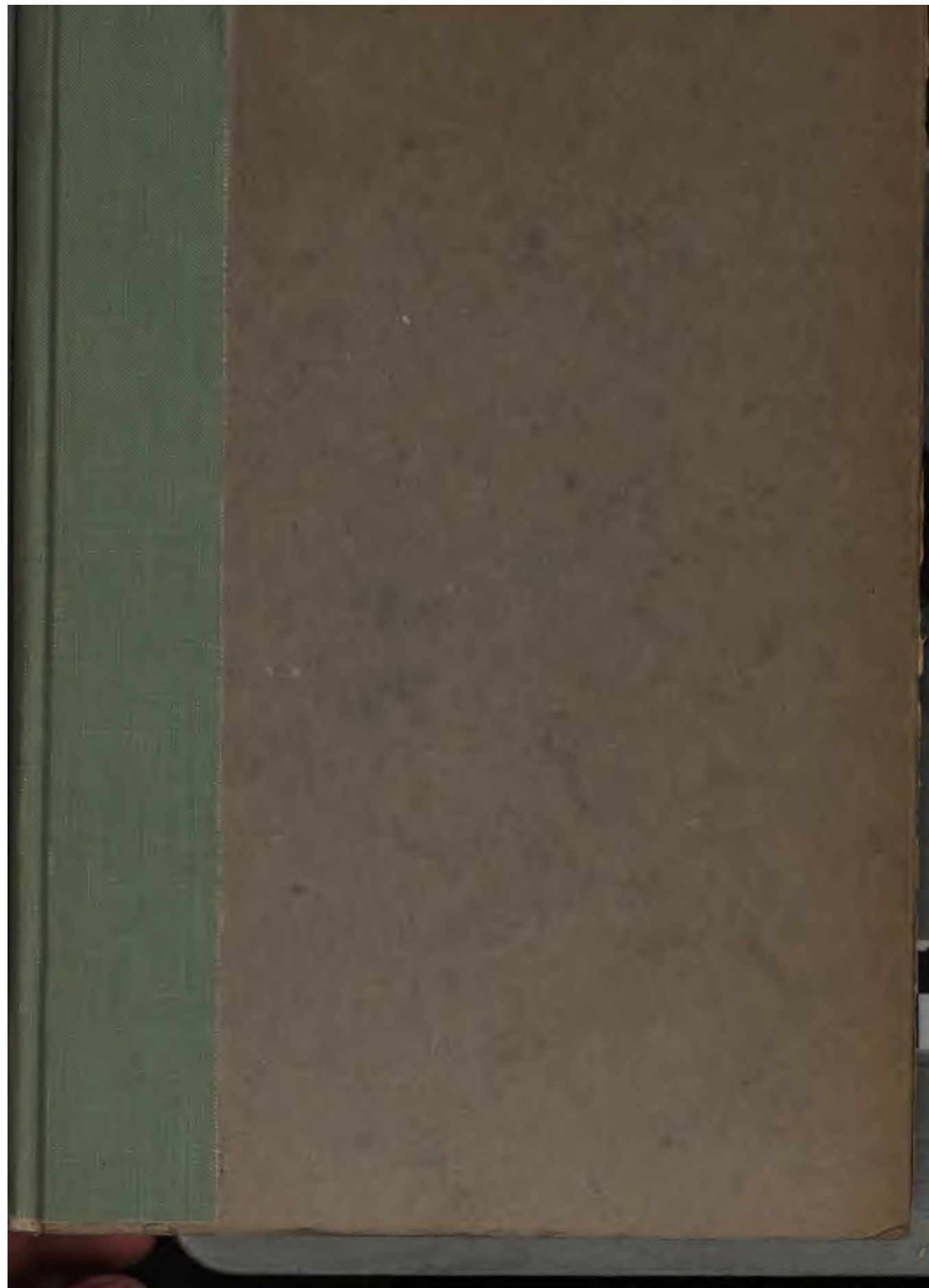
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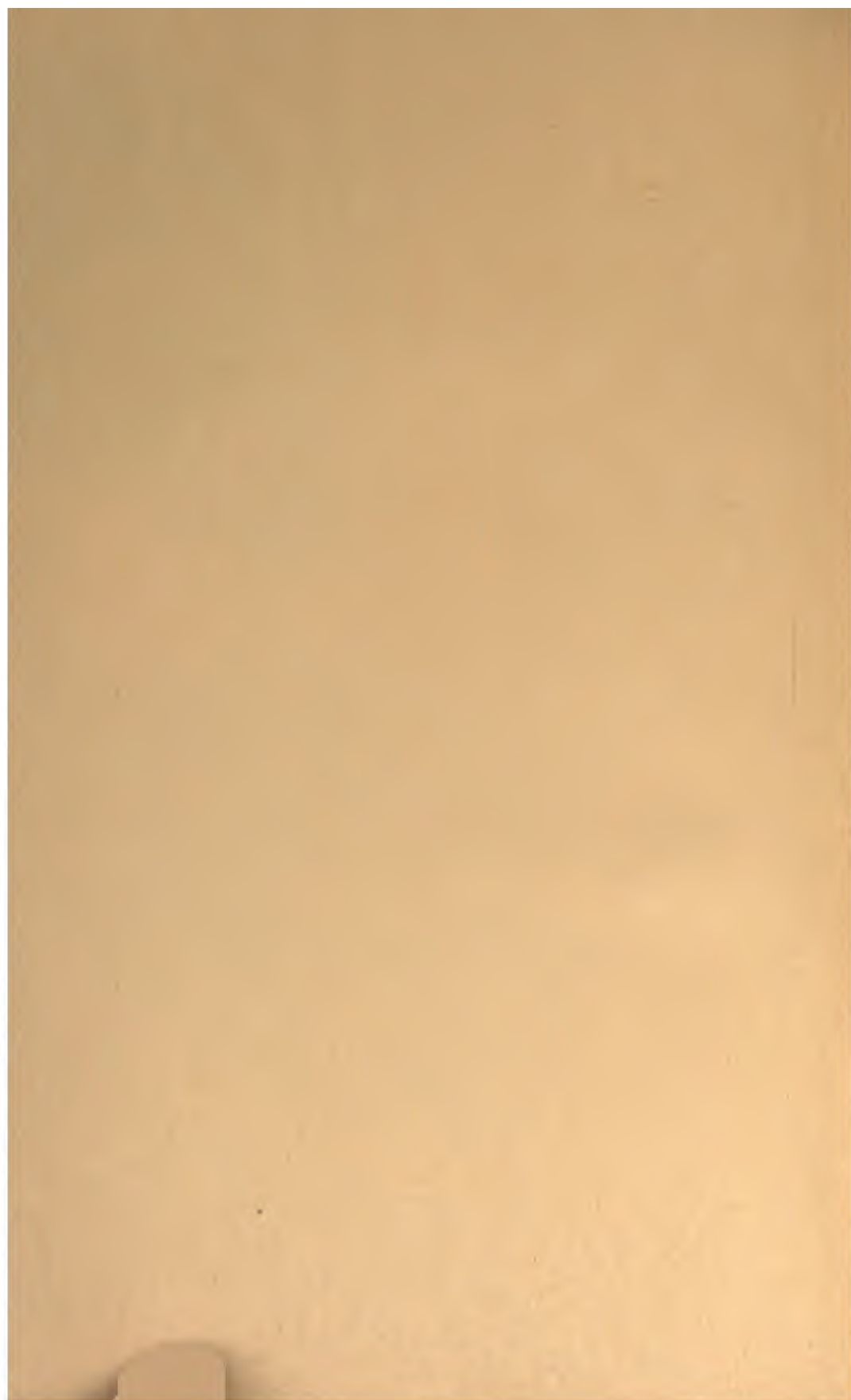
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# THE SOCIAL PROBLEM AT THE CHICAGO STOCK YARDS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTIES OF THE GRADUATE  
SCHOOLS OF ARTS, LITERATURE, AND SCIENCE, IN CANDIDACY  
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY)

BY  
CHARLES J. BUSHNELL

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To  
My Parents





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## INTRODUCTION.

FOURTEEN years ago Mr. James Bryce concluded his famous work on *The American Commonwealth* in the following words:

America has still a long vista of years stretching before her in which she will enjoy conditions far more auspicious than England can count upon. And that America marks the highest level, not only of material well-being, but of intelligence and happiness, which the race has yet attained, will be the judgment of those who look, not at the favored few, for whose benefit the world seems hitherto to have framed its institutions, but at the whole body of the people.

A few months ago the same author was bidding farewell at London to a company of American friends departing for the United States. As he shook them warmly by the hand at the wharf, he is reported to have said:

Go back to the splendid world across the sea; but don't you make a failure of it. Don't you make a failure of it! You cannot go on twenty-five years more in your great cities as you have been doing. Don't you do it; if you do, you will set us liberals back in Europe five hundred years.<sup>1</sup>

These quotations serve to suggest the special problem of the present study, viz.: Is it possible that American national life, and especially the cause of universal democracy, has, within the last few years, come to be seriously threatened by social conditions in the large American cities? What are some of the typical concrete facts about these conditions? and how may they best be improved?

Before proceeding to a detailed discussion, it may be well to define the leading conceptions which will be used in the following pages.

The conception of democracy, being the central idea of this study, deserves special notice. By democracy we understand, not merely political equality—government of the people, by the people, and for the people—though that in its fullest sense is

<sup>1</sup>ALICE FREEMAN PALMER, *The University Record* of the University of Chicago, June 28, 1901, p. 94.



' implied in the term; we mean complete equality of opportunity for every man to develop to the fullest capacity all of his normal interests. Man is more than a political animal (in the narrow sense). Man is also a distinctly sociable animal, a constructing animal, a reflecting animal, an artistic animal, a religious animal. His political interest, like each of his other interests, has value and significance only through its service in helping to maintain him in the vigorous and exuberant exercise of each and all of these interests. Interests are the fundamental evidences, not only of the constitution and tendencies of individual character, but of national organization and development. As evidences of individual character they express themselves in individual choices, acts, habits, and occupations; <sup>1</sup> as elements in national organization they become embodied as social institutions, practices, and professions. For example, corresponding and contributing to the individual's periodically recurring interests in wealth, in knowledge, and in art are the respective groups of social institutions of production, of education, of expression. And it is the essence of democracy that every individual shall have public recognition as a determining factor in the organization and conduct of all of these groups of institutions, in order that his own interests may have full and unprejudiced development. By a democracy, therefore, we mean a society maintaining itself through the free and normal participation of all of its members in all of its social functions.

The special field of large-scale industry has been selected in this study because it is believed that therein today is to be found, in its most acute stage, the central problem of democracy: the physical, economic, and cultural advancement of the whole people as an organic body, rather than as a wasteful collection of warring groups. It is no new discovery that the present conditions of contract, particularly in large industries, are often of such a kind as seriously to interfere with both employers' and employees' freedom in the conduct of their

<sup>1</sup> Professor John Dewey has defined interest from this point of view as "an impulse functioning with reference to an idea of self-realization." For a more elaborate statement see *intro.*, Table XV.

lives. The perception that is gaining ground today is that every person has to reckon with the interests of a good many more other persons than ever before in the world's history. The rapid consolidation of business in the last few years has made this perception most keenly felt in industry, and has given a new aspect to the question of human freedom.

It is more than ever seen, with the rapidly increasing industrial interdependence, that freedom is not a commodity that can be bought or given—much less an absolute and independent possession—but a right which must be *earned* by such self-enlightenment and self-discipline as result in faithful social service. Freedom means not inconsiderate license, but liberty considerately to choose those forms of realizing one's interests which shall be helpful in realizing the interests of others. Those who love and exercise freedom must first be wise and good.

The perception of this fact is transforming in a notable way the spirit and methods of modern business. The fact that freedom must be earned is teaching the workman to study economics, restrict his drink habits, and send his children to school. The same fact is teaching the employer to keep his temper, reverence human nature, and pay just wages in a spirit of brotherhood. It is teaching all that "to do justice is the best safeguard against injustice."

The claims of individualism and of socialism are today in general advocated respectively by the larger employers and the more poorly favored workmen. This is natural, since in recent generations the successful business methods have been those of individualism, and the ideals of such methods are still clung to by the comfortable conservative classes. On the other hand, the new methods of consolidated business and co-operative enterprise are essentially socialistic in principle—though not yet in spirit—and the ideals of these methods are most ardently advocated by those classes of unskilled labor who naturally have felt the need for them quickest and most keenly. Both individualism and socialism represent essential principles in any normal society. The difference between them is one of emphasis rather than one of irreconcilable antagonism. Individualists

emphasize the importance of individual initiative and independence; socialists emphasize the importance of representative or public control in industry as well as in politics. The contention of the socialists is in substance that, with the increase in complexity and in solidarity of modern life, the individual man needs guaranteed to him more certain and effective means of making his will felt in the control of those great concerns in which his life is involved. This seems just; and, indeed, in so far as socialism means true democratic self-government of social functions, the need at present is an advance, with courage and prudence, in the socialistic direction. The past age has advanced by the emancipation of highly skilled labor of hand and brain from cumbersome restraints, but has not given the individual man of lesser advantages sufficient guaranty of security in his dearly bought opportunities of becoming skilled.

The problem of the next age is rather that of providing a truly human life for those who are less skilled and capable, and who are consequently less able to look after their own interests.<sup>1</sup>

The world is realizing today, especially in industry, as never before, the truth that any set of conditions which gives a chance for the strong to remain strong must also give a chance for the weak to become strong.

The Chicago Stock Yards have been chosen as the special subject of this study because the vast aggregation of business at this place affords an unusual opportunity to observe in strikingly typical forms the special characteristics of modern industry: concentration of enormous capital, high specialization of machinery, minute subdivision of labor, military organization of management, subordination of unskilled labor, world-wide extension of market, production for the sake of production.

The method of investigation has aimed to be (1) as personal and direct as possible, and (2) as comprehensive and accurate as possible. Personal visits, observations, and interviews of the writer were a large source of information. Photographs, drawings, diagrams, and maps were made on the spot. Schedules for information were submitted to the employers and managers of

<sup>1</sup> J. S. MACKENZIE, *Manual of Ethics* (3d edition), p. 309.

the large companies, to the public-school officials, to the city police department, to the city health department, to the Bureau of Associated Charities, to the pastors of the churches, to the county clerk, and to the county board of assessors. Information and photographs were secured from state and national bureaus, and especially from progressive business firms throughout the country.

The outline of the treatment is as follows :

I. A description of the industry at the Chicago Stock Yards with reference to the positive contribution it is making to democratic social progress.

II. A description of the Stock Yard community at Chicago in comparison with the wealthy Hyde Park community lying just east of it.

III. A study of the relation of the yards to the Stock Yard community to determine the particular difficulties involved in the maintenance of democracy there, and to bring to bear upon these difficulties the experience of progressive employers throughout the world.

IV. A statement of some of the most practical methods by which existing institutions may deal with the situation, especial emphasis being laid upon the function of the public schools.



## CHAPTER I.

### INDUSTRY AT THE CHICAGO STOCK YARDS.

#### SECTION I. THE MAGNITUDE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIVESTOCK AND MEAT-PACKING INDUSTRY OF CHICAGO.

A RECENT "Market Bulletin" of the Chicago Union Stock Yards makes the following significant observation :

The most remarkable and far-reaching development of the last fifteen years, and the most important in its direct bearing upon the welfare of the whole people, is the rapidly growing demonstration of the fact that the daily necessities of life can be produced and their distribution accomplished on a large scale much better and cheaper than on a small scale; that the greater economy and superior facilities secured by large combinations of capital, labor, and talent make them much more successful in supplying the wants of the people than is possible to individual effort or to a large number of small independent concerns which do not adopt modern methods.

The main factor in this development has been organized co-operation, embracing as chief elements (1) combination of capital, (2) division of labor, (3) expert management, and (4) labor-saving machinery. These have resulted in a degree of commercial efficiency and economy never before approached in any age. Of course this means, relatively, that the producer gets more for his products and the consumer gets better and cheaper commodities than ever before. The natural laws of commerce, manufacture, and trade make this conclusion inevitable. The final result of such improved methods and means on the part of those who supply the world with food and other necessities has always been the greatest good of the greatest number, and this development may eventually resolve itself into universal co-operation.

In no direction has this development been more pronounced and more



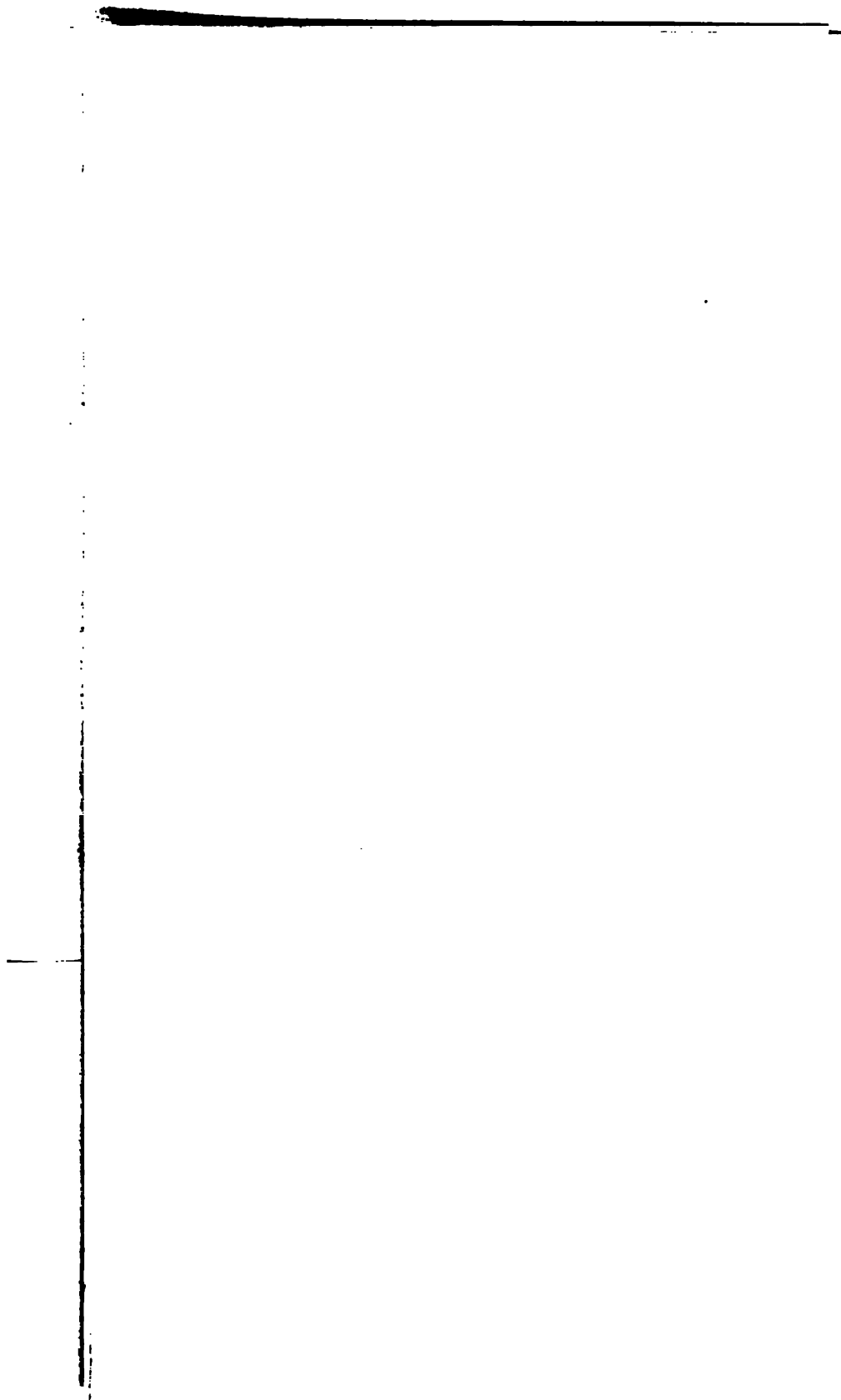
direct in its bearings upon the welfare of the whole people than in the live-stock marketing and meat-packing industry.<sup>1</sup>

Very few people have any idea of the magnitude of the live-stock industry of the United States. If shown, by official government estimates, that the horses, mules, asses, cattle, hogs, sheep, and goats in the United States number over 140,000,000 head, and that their value is, according to a late estimate by Director of the Census Merriam, approximately \$3,000,000,000, the figures alone would have very little attraction or meaning to the majority of readers. But when told in addition thereto that these animals would make a solid column of more than seventy-six abreast reaching from San Francisco to Boston; or, if placed in single file in a solid procession, would reach six times around the earth and require twenty-one years to pass a given point marching constantly at the rate of twenty miles per day, or that would fill a solid stock train of 2,600,000 modern palace stock cars over twenty thousand miles in length; and, further, that their value exceeds the total combined value of all the corn, wheat, and other cereals, potatoes, hay, cotton, sugar, molasses, tobacco, lumber, wool, coal, petroleum, silver, gold, and precious stones, iron, copper, lead, zinc, and other metals, annually in the whole country—then perhaps some adequate conception may be formed concerning the magnitude and importance of the live-stock industry of the United States. . . .

If, in addition to the above, it is shown that 225,000 of Chicago's population get their living directly from the business activities of the square mile occupied by her Union Stock Yards, and another 225,000 get their living indirectly from the same source; that, in fact, the live-stock and meat-packing industry was the foundation and has always been the chief element of Chicago's wonderful growth and prosperity, and is today Chicago's leading industry; also that, while Chicago is the greatest grain market in the world, the greatest lumber market, and probably the greatest wholesale dry-goods market, yet there is more business done and more in actual value handled in her live-stock trade alone than in her grain, lumber, and dry goods combined; that, in short, Chicago is the head-center of the nation's greatest single commercial interest, her great live-stock markets and correlated packing establishments constituting the mightiest aggregation of labor, capital, and talent ever concentrated into one organized, systematic volume of business, the ramifications of which extend into every department of mercantile life, and the products of which feed the armies and nations of the world—then perhaps we may realize something, not only of the magnitude and importance to the nation of Chicago's enormous trade in animals and meat products of all kinds, but also the importance to Chicago of her commanding position at the head of the live-stock world.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Breeder's Gazette*, November 14, 1900, p. 700.

<sup>2</sup> *Thirty-fifth Annual Live Stock Report of the Union Stock Yard and Transit Company of Chicago for 1900*, pp. 3, 4.





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This statement of Chicago's pre-eminence as a live-stock and packing center may be graphically illustrated by the accompanying tables and diagrams (p. 148).

Prior to 1866 the live-stock trade of Chicago was scattered among six or seven small markets located in different parts of the city. This was an unprofitable arrangement, both to buyers and sellers, accompanied by many inconveniences and losses of both time and money. When these various isolated small stock yards were consolidated into one great market, with prompt and adequate switching facilities, a large number of buyers, and ample market accommodations, the manifest advantages of such a union brought other buyers from the East and exporters to the Chicago market, and the increased demand brought more stock, so that the Chicago market became rapidly the great emporium it now is.<sup>1</sup>

The influence of this market upon the development of the West is of great importance. The western, northwestern, and southwestern ranges soon began teeming with cattle and sheep, and there was a marvelous increase of all kinds of live stock in the corn belt, together with a wonderful advance in quality, breeding, and size. An increased production of corn and other grains and forage for live stock necessarily followed, and the prairie states, where stock-raising and farming were carried on together, advanced in prosperity very rapidly. The increased production of live stock thus encouraged, moreover, was the primary cause of the recent great extension of railroad systems throughout the West. This railroad building in turn caused the settlement of vast regions of territory previously unoccupied save by the roaming bands of Indians and wild herds of cattle and buffaloes. The opportunity for homes on virgin soil attracted from Europe thousands of the most capable and enterprising agricultural families, who have since become numbered among our most prosperous and valued citizens.

This marvelous development of industry is illustrated in

<sup>1</sup>The "yards" are bounded on the west by S. Ashland avenue, on the south by W. Forty-seventh street, on the east by S. Halsted street, and on the north by W. Thirty-ninth street and the Chicago river. And this territory is being much extended on the west by the addition of new packing plants.

TABLE I.  
ILLUSTRATING CHICAGO'S SUPREMACY AS THE LIVE-STOCK AND MEAT-PACKING MARKET OF THE WORLD IN 1900.

RECEIPTS.										
MARKETS.		Pr Cent.	10	20	30	40	50	60	HEAD.	
CATTLE.	CHICAGO.....	40.0	<div></div>						2,865,356	CATTLE.
	KANSAS CITY.....	29.0	<div></div>						2,082,795	
	OMAHA.....	11.6	<div></div>						828,204	
	ST. LOUIS.....	9.7	<div></div>						698,370	
	ST. JOSEPH.....	5.5	<div></div>						390,381	
	SIoux CITY.....	4.2	<div></div>						300,437	
	TOTALS.....	100.0							7,165,543	
HOGS.	CHICAGO.....	47.5	<div></div>						8,696,136	HOGS.
	KANSAS CITY.....	16.9	<div></div>						3,094,139	
	OMAHA.....	12.0	<div></div>						2,200,926	
	ST. LOUIS.....	9.8	<div></div>						1,791,986	
	ST. JOSEPH.....	9.2	<div></div>						1,678,520	
	SIoux CITY.....	4.6	<div></div>						833,141	
	TOTALS.....	100.0							18,294,848	
SHEEP.	CHICAGO.....	54.2	<div></div>						3,548,885	SHEEP.
	OMAHA.....	19.5	<div></div>						1,276,775	
	KANSAS CITY.....	13.1	<div></div>						860,449	
	ST. LOUIS.....	6.3	<div></div>						416,146	
	ST. JOSEPH.....	5.9	<div></div>						390,308	
	SIoux CITY.....	1.0	<div></div>						61,342	
	TOTALS.....	100.0							6,553,905	
HORSES.	CHICAGO.....	30.0	<div></div>						99,010	HORSES.
	ST. LOUIS.....	22.1	<div></div>						73,145	
	OMAHA.....	18.0	<div></div>						59,645	
	KANSAS CITY.....	16.6	<div></div>						55,048	
	SIoux CITY.....	9.2	<div></div>						30,668	
	ST. JOSEPH.....	4.1	<div></div>						13,497	
	TOTALS.....	100.0							331,013	
CARS.	CHICAGO.....	46.5	<div></div>						277,205	CARS.
	KANSAS CITY.....	21.6	<div></div>						128,892	
	OMAHA.....	12.1	<div></div>						72,207	
	ST. LOUIS.....	9.0	<div></div>						53,523	
	ST. JOSEPH.....	7.0	<div></div>						41,864	
	SIoux CITY.....	3.8	<div></div>						22,914	
	TOTALS.....	100.0							596,605	
SLAUGHTER.										
MARKETS.		Pr Cent.	10	20	30	40	50	60	HEAD.	
CATTLE.	CHICAGO.....	42.9	<div></div>						1,916,647	CATTLE.
	KANSAS CITY.....	25.5	<div></div>						1,141,427	
	ST. LOUIS.....	11.9	<div></div>						532,546	
	OMAHA.....	11.6	<div></div>						516,669	
	ST. JOSEPH.....	6.6	<div></div>						292,905	
	SIoux CITY.....	1.5	<div></div>						67,655	
	TOTALS.....	100.0							4,467,849	
HOGS.	CHICAGO.....	45.6	<div></div>						7,241,881	HOGS.
	KANSAS CITY.....	18.0	<div></div>						2,872,128	
	OMAHA.....	13.5	<div></div>						2,162,612	
	ST. JOSEPH.....	9.6	<div></div>						1,537,582	
	ST. LOUIS.....	8.7	<div></div>						1,374,295	
	SIoux CITY.....	4.6	<div></div>						723,348	
	TOTALS.....	100.0							15,911,846	
SHEEP.	CHICAGO.....	60.6	<div></div>						3,061,631	SHEEP.
	OMAHA.....	13.7	<div></div>						687,671	
	KANSAS CITY.....	12.5	<div></div>						636,018	
	ST. LOUIS.....	7.0	<div></div>						354,432	
	ST. JOSEPH.....	5.7	<div></div>						290,590	
	SIoux CITY.....	.5	<div></div>						22,015	
	TOTALS.....	100.0							5,052,357	

TOTAL VALUATION OF CHICAGO LIVE-STOCK RECEIPTS IN THIRTY-FIVE YEARS, \$5,016,724,310.

more detail in the *Thirty-fifth Annual Live Stock Report of the Stock Yard Company for 1900*. It is there shown that the present capacity of the yards is 75,000 cattle, 80,000 sheep, 300,000 hogs, and 6,000 horses. The area of the yards is nearly 500 acres, 420 of which are bricked or planked. Two hundred and fifty miles of railway tracks lie within the yards. Thirteen thousand uncovered pens, and 8,500 double-decked or covered pens, are connected by 25,000 gates. And the water, sewer, and lighting systems are correspondingly enormous. More than 400,000,000 head of live stock have been here received and shipped in the past thirty-five years, at a total valuation of more than \$5,500,000,000.

This whole stupendous industrial development represented at the Chicago Stock Yards is typical for the evolution of large-scale industries in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The accompanying maps<sup>1</sup> graphically illustrate this. In 1857, before the period of great railroad expansion, it will be seen that the area from which Chicago obtained her live stock was practically limited to the adjacent territory from which the stock might be driven into the city on foot, and that the area to which Chicago shipped her meats was but a small section of the Mississippi valley. In 1877, it will be observed, the area from which Chicago obtained her live stock had expanded to include most of the western, southwestern, and northwestern grazing lands of the United States, while the area to which she shipped her meats had expanded to cover the whole territory of the United States and immediately adjacent countries. At the present time, as shown in the third map, the area of live-stock sources is still constituted chiefly by the grazing lands of the United States, but the area to which Chicago now exports her meats has become practically the whole area of the habitable world. In other words, modern large-scale industry, as typically represented at the Chicago Stock Yards, now deals with a world-market and must grapple with the great problems of international

<sup>1</sup> From original drawings by Miss Abbie G. Swift, of the Chicago Normal School. The sources used are: GRIFFITH's *Live Stock Annual* for 1878, GRAND's *Illustrated History of the Union Stock Yards*, and special reports from the yards.

commerce. The importance of this movement of commercial expansion, in indirectly bringing nations together and advancing the moral and political unity of the human race, can hardly be overestimated.

## SECTION II. METHODS AND PROCESSES OF THE PACKING INDUSTRY AT CHICAGO.<sup>1</sup>

Up to 1870 the preservation of pork and beef products had not been carried practically beyond the air-drying and the salt-and pickle-curing of hams, bacon, mess pork, dried and corned beef, etc. The cattle of the western plains were shipped alive to eastern markets and there slaughtered, this method entailing a heavy shrinkage in weight, and other losses. A great impetus was received by the meat-packing business when the stationary ice refrigerator was perfected, enabling the slaughterer to pack meats in summer as well as in winter, and also to keep fresh meats in good condition for many days. Following this the artificial ice and cold-storage methods of refrigeration and preservation were developed, materially increasing the possibilities of centralized packing. In 1871 an ice refrigerator was mounted on car wheels, filled with dressed beef, and started for an eastern market, where it arrived in good condition. From this start the modern refrigerator car system of transportation has been evolved. It was more economical to slaughter live stock in the West, ship the edible portions to the consumer, and convert the offal at the point of slaughter into by-products, than to transport the live animal. In the early seventies the glue-maker appeared and relieved the slaughterer of a part of the offal, the disposition of which up to this time had been a source of expense and annoyance. The glue-maker was followed by the fertilizer manufacturer, and thus a start on by-product utilization was made. The Appert process of preservation of meat in tins, through complete sterilization by thorough cooking and concentration, and packing in air-tight packages, was first successfully applied to meat food products on a large scale in 1874, enabling

<sup>1</sup>For valuable material on this section the writer is indebted to ARMOUR & Co., *Armour Products and Packing Methods*.



meats to be safely transported and held for an indefinite period in any climate without cold storage. This system secured a still wider radius of distribution of meat products from centralized slaughtering points. Thus in the constant application of the results of abstract science by invention, modern industry has found its chief method of world-wide expansion, improvement, and consolidation.

An account of the technical process of a large modern meat-packing plant furnishes one of the most interesting chapters in any description of modern industry. Such an account can be given here only in outline. Let us start with the shipping of the stock from the farm. Say a stock buyer living in a small town in the corn belt of the Mississippi valley purchases from neighboring farmers 20 beef cattle, 120 hogs, and 200 sheep, and has them delivered at the railway station. The hogs and sheep are loaded into double-decked stock cars, the cattle into cattle cars, and all consigned to a live-stock commission house at the Union Stock Yards in Chicago. The shipment arrives early in the morning; the cattle, hogs, and sheep are taken to their respective divisions, fed and watered, and placed in pens until sold—a yardage charge being made by the Stock Yard Co. for this service. The commission man is soon in treaty with some of the hundred buyers representing the slaughterers, feeders, and shippers. Offers are made and refused; counter-offers are tendered; comparison is made with other lots; and the consignment, let us say, is finally disposed of to one of the large packing houses at the yards.

In view of the fact that millions of dollars worth of live stock are thus handled annually by these buyers and sellers, and that their responsibility is correspondingly very great, it is interesting to note, in this connection, the code of business ethics in force among them. All transactions between buyers and sellers within the pens are made solely upon word of honor, often at the mere dropping of a whip, a nod, or other mute sign of acceptance, without a scratch of pencil or pen upon paper. And such bargains are never questioned, although not a dollar may have been passed in the transaction or even a note

**DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROCESSES**

**ONE HALF OF MATERIALS WASTED**

**LIVE STOCK**

**1860**

**1870**

**1880**

**1890**

**1900**

**ALL MATERIALS UTILIZED**

**1860:** STEAM POWER, CATTLE, SHEEP, PORK, BUTTER, CHEESE, LARD, WAX, GLASS, SUGAR, SYNTHETIC RUBBER, ARTIFICIAL SILK.

**1870:** ARTIFICIAL REFRIGERATOR, REFRIGERATION, COLD STORAGE, CARR, CANNING, BACON, HAMS, CURED MEATS, BUTTER, CHEESE, LARD, WAX, GLASS, SUGAR, SYNTHETIC RUBBER, ARTIFICIAL SILK.

**1880:** ARTIFICIAL REFRIGERATOR, REFRIGERATION, COLD STORAGE, CARR, CANNING, BACON, HAMS, CURED MEATS, BUTTER, CHEESE, LARD, WAX, GLASS, SUGAR, SYNTHETIC RUBBER, ARTIFICIAL SILK.

**1890:** ARTIFICIAL REFRIGERATOR, REFRIGERATION, COLD STORAGE, CARR, CANNING, BACON, HAMS, CURED MEATS, BUTTER, CHEESE, LARD, WAX, GLASS, SUGAR, SYNTHETIC RUBBER, ARTIFICIAL SILK.

**1900:** ARTIFICIAL REFRIGERATOR, REFRIGERATION, COLD STORAGE, CARR, CANNING, BACON, HAMS, CURED MEATS, BUTTER, CHEESE, LARD, WAX, GLASS, SUGAR, SYNTHETIC RUBBER, ARTIFICIAL SILK.

ONE HALF  
OF MATERIALS  
WASTED

ALL  
MATERIALS  
UTILIZED

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROCESSES

made in a vest-pocket memorandum. This system of transacting the sales has its obvious conveniences, and is regulated by an organization of the parties concerned which will be studied later.

After the stock has been sold, an inspection is made by United States government, and also by Illinois state inspectors.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ARMOUR & CO.'S CHICAGO PLANT—TAKEN FROM A BALLOON.  
(Land area, 50 acres; floor area, 150 acres.)

The stock is then weighed—the weight being automatically recorded on four facsimile sheets for the use of the weigh-master, buyer, and seller; yardage and commission charges are figured, and settlement is made. The stock is then driven over elevated runways up to the fourth story or top floor of the slaughter buildings, the product afterward working down again by gravity to the various floors, where it is finally distributed to different departments.

For example, the hogs are driven in continuous procession



up the elevated runway entrance to the hog-killing department, and into a small pen. Here they are caught up by the hind leg by a large revolving wheel and started down the trolley past the butcher, who quickly dispatches them as they pass by a skillful thrust of a sharp knife in the throat. After a plunge in hot water to facilitate the removal of bristles and hair by the automatic-power scrapers, the hog, suspended from a sloping overhead trolley, passes by gravity through a double line of workmen, each having his special part of the task to attend to. The animal is thus rapidly cleaned, inspected, divided into halves, and run into the hanging-room, where it remains for seventy-two hours in low temperature for the animal heat to pass out before going on to the cutting-floor.

In the hanging-room government inspectors take numerous samples from each animal, samples and animals being tagged with a corresponding number. The samples are taken to the United States government microscopic inspection rooms, where slides are made and the meat is examined for trichinæ. The value of this inspection cannot be overestimated. It is absolutely in government control and makes almost certain a complete protection of the public from infected meats.

From the hanging-floor the hog goes to the cutting-floor, where the loin is taken out, and where bacon, ham, back, sides, etc., are cut from the carcass and dropped into the storing cellars below, where many million pounds of product may be seen in cure at one time. This cutting and curing of the hog has become much diversified since the early days of the business. Hams, shoulders, sides, or barrel pork composed the selling list of thirty years ago; today the variety of cuts is bewildering to an outsider. Why has this change occurred? Because the world is today the packer's market, and he has to study the peculiarities and preferences, not only of each country, but of each section of the various countries. The daily capacity of the largest plants may be judged by the fact that in one of them alone at the Chicago Stock Yards 18,900 hogs have been killed in one day; the day's total killing in the various plants of the same company having exceeded 40,000 hogs.



Hoisting the hogs on a revolving wheel.

The butcher at work.



The automatic scalding apparatus.

Scraping bench.



Hog bodies coming from the scraping machines,

Government inspector watching the removal of viscera,

HOG-KILLING AT ARMOUR'S.



Cleaving and removing lard.

Weighing and tagging.

The hog coolers.

In the cattle-killing department, when the day's work begins, the animals are driven from the storage pen up the inclined runways to the small stall-like individual pens, where they are killed by the blow of a hammer upon the head, as indicated in the



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEAT INSPECTION OFFICE AT THE  
CHICAGO STOCK YARDS.

accompanying photographs. The carcasses are then suspended from overhead trolleys and bled, skinned, inspected, dressed, and weighed, after which they are placed in the chill-rooms, where they remain two or three days until all animal heat has been removed. Such as are intended for shipment as dressed





BRANDING "PREMIUM" HAMS.  
(Swift & Co.)



SALT PORK IN STORE.  
(Swift & Co.)

beef are loaded into refrigerator cars, in which a uniform temperature is maintained, and sent to the larger branch houses and distributing points, where deliveries are made to the local butchers, usually at a lower price and with the meat in better condi-



Killing and hoisting.

Bleeding and removing  
the hides.

Dressing the carcasses.



In beef chill-room.

Loading into refrigerator cars.

## CATTLE KILLING AT ARMOUR'S.

tion than home-slaughtered beef. If the product is to be exported, the refrigerators are run alongside the ocean liners, and the meat is transferred to especially arranged chill-rooms in the steamers and delivered in prime condition at their destination.



In this connection one of the most interesting phases of the process consists in the preparation of what is called "Kosher meat." This term is applied to the beef killed by specially appointed orthodox Jewish officials for the use of the orthodox Hebrews throughout the country. This trade forms no small part of the packing business. In Chicago alone there are 200,000 Hebrews, and here is consumed more "Kosher" meat than in any other city in the world except London. The practice of slaughter by this method illustrates the intense persistence of some of the race's oldest traditions. The Mosaic law, referred to in this connection, and found in Lev. 17: 14, says: "The blood is the life of all flesh, the blood of it is for the life thereof; therefore, I said unto the children of Israel, Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh, for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof. Whosoever eateth it shall be cut off." The official Jewish butcher is called a shochett. When a beast, say a calf, has been approved of by the shochett, it is secured around one leg by a rope, and a pulley raises the animal from the floor. Another leg is secured, the beast's head is bent back, and the sharp knife of the shochett is applied at the throat. The animal is then inspected after killing, and, if found perfectly healthy, a stamp is placed on each piece in such a way that all who use it may know that the Mosaic law has been fully complied with. Only the fore-quarters of the beef are used in this trade—the Chicago trade alone using about 4,000 each week. And this fact makes the trade in "Kosher" meat especially profitable, in that the fore-quarters thus often find as ready sale and as good prices as the hind-quarters.

Beeves intended for hotels, restaurants, or other local consumption, or for special products, as dried beef, barrel beef, canned meats, etc., are taken from the chill-rooms and sent to the cutting-floor, where, by means of steam-driven saws, and in the hands of skilful knifemen, appropriate distribution is made. The hides have previously been sent to the hide seller, and all offal has found its way to the fertilizer and glue works.

The sheep are killed and dressed in much the same way,

except that in dispatching them their throats are cut by a single cross stroke of the knife.

In the canning department may be noted the preparation for market of the various meats that make up the enormous bulk of food product annually turned out in canned form by the industry. The meat is first carefully trimmed, and, after being cooked thoroughly until sterilization is secured, it is placed in cans,



SOLDERING CANS.

which, after having been hermetically sealed, are lacquered and labeled. Other divisions of the process, which cannot be fully described here because of lack of time and space, are the making of the various beef and meat extracts; of sausages—literally miles of which are produced weekly; of lard and refined oils, tried out in enormous iron vats; and of numerous tripe and pigs' feet products.

The manufacture of by-products is one of the most interesting features of the business, and has assisted materially in the development of the meat industry, especially in enlarging the radius of distribution of its products. A steer weighing 1,500 pounds dresses out approximately 825 pounds of beef; the



remainder of the animal, consisting of hide, head, feet, blood, fat, casings, etc., along with the offal from hogs and sheep, furnishes material for the by-product plants. The head and feet go to the fertilizing and glue works. The horns are cut off to be converted into combs, buttons, hairpins, and fertilizers; the hard shin bone, with the thigh and blade bones,



MAKING OLEO OIL.

is made into knife and tooth-brush handles, pipe mouth-pieces, buttons, and bone ornaments, and the waste into glue and fertilizer. The hoof is made into hairpins, buttons, yellow prussiate, and fertilizer. The feet, knuckles, hide clippings, sinews, small bones, etc., are made into glue, gelatine, isinglass, neat's-foot oil, tallow, grease, stearine, and fertilizer. The cattle tails go to the curled-hair works, bristles to the bristle works; the tallow and grease go to the soap works, and are converted into toilet and laundry soaps, washing powders, and all grades of glycerine. The pig's stomach and pancreas, the sheep's thyroid and other glands, go to the pharmaceutical laboratory, and are made into pepsin, pancreatin, dessicated thyroids, and



other medicinal articles. The blood and the tankage (the residue left after extracting the grease and tallow from meat scraps), and all waste of a nitrogenous or phosphatic character, are taken to the fertilizer works and are converted into fertilizers of different analyses, albumen, stock and poultry food, etc. Phosphoric acid and phosphorus, bone black and black pigment,



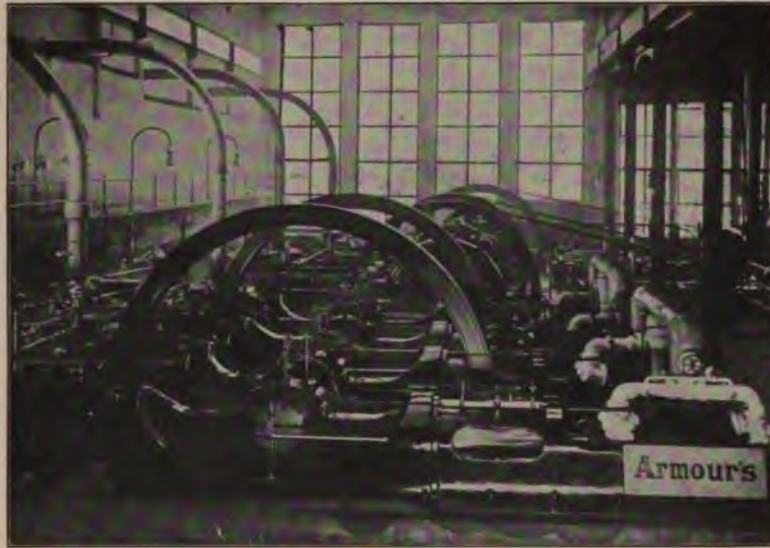
PACKING BUTTERINE.

sulphate of ammonia, bone oil, and many other articles are also made from packing-house waste.

The sheep pelts go to the wool pullery, where the wool is taken off, cleaned and braided for the woolen goods and felt manufacturers, and the pelts with the cattle hides go to the tanners. Hair waste is made into a hair felt for insulation purposes, or prepared for the plasterers. All by-products are manufactured under supervision of expert chemists, and thoroughly equipped laboratories are maintained. Under the system in vogue before the centralization of packing, this inedible material was very largely thrown away. Now thousands of skilled

employees, working in expensive plants, save, and make valuable, millions of dollars worth of this product.

The auxiliary departments and distributing facilities owned by the larger companies are also very extensive. Each of these companies owns its own refrigerator cars, ice houses, steel tank cars, etc. The tin pails and packages used in the business are



ELECTRIC POWER PLANT AT ARMOUR'S (12,000 HORSE-POWER).

made by machinery at each of the plants. Large car shops for the manufacture and repairing of cars, and large machine shops for the making and repairing of the machinery used, are also maintained. The motive power for operating the works is developed in a central power-house, at the most improved plants, and is transmitted electrically to points where the power is needed. Automatic stokers feed the boilers; the ashes are removed by machinery; an elevated electric trolley railway conveys materials and products from one department to another, and power elevators and conveyors move boxes, barrels, and supplies from floor to floor.

Thus, through by-product plants, refrigeration, and the perfection of the canning process, with the introduction of a thoroughly scientific system, the live-stock industry has been put upon a solid basis. Packing centers provide cash markets for all varieties of live stock. The cost of new foods is reduced; the cost of living in different parts of the world is equalized, and that portion of the animal not used for food, clothes, glue, soaps, or in the arts and sciences, is returned to the farm as fertilizer, to grow more grain and grass, to feed more live stock, again to make the circuit.

### SECTION III. MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF THE PACKING INDUSTRY AT CHICAGO.

The live-stock and meat-packing industry includes virtually in a single organization all of the various agencies for handling the stock from the time it reaches the yards to the time it is sent out in the form of consumable goods to the public. These agencies at the Chicago Stock Yards may be divided into three general divisions, namely, the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co., the Live Stock Exchange, and the packing plants.

The functions of the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co. we have seen to consist chiefly in organizing the market and in furnishing the place and facilities for the purchase and sale of the stock.

The Live Stock Exchange deserves special attention in respect to the management and organization of the business. In the words of the statistician of the Stock Yard Co.:

A live-stock exchange is an association for the purpose of encouraging the production, sale, and distribution of live stock and meat products, and for defense of all interests identified therewith, against everything detrimental to honest trade. It is a name given to a voluntary association of live-stock producers, shippers, packers, commission men, and bankers, organized, not for profit, but to secure, in the mutual interests of producers, consumers, domestic distributors, and exporters of live stock and meat products, uniformity of business usages and customs, adequate inspection of animals and meat, needed legislation for the inspection and promotion of live-stock interests, and all other legitimate advantages which are to be secured through the power of organization.



The Chicago Live Stock Exchange was the pioneer of its kind. And it soon became so successful that nearly all other live-stock centers have organized on its plan. Obviously these exchanges can accomplish through organization much more than could be secured by individual effort. They came into existence from the necessity of defending the live-stock trade against the constant disputes over the dockage of hogs, the presence on the markets of dishonest and irresponsible buyers and sellers, unjust discrimination in railroad rates and commissions for selling live stock, the slaughter and sale of diseased animals for food, injurious legislation, and other wrongs and abuses, that could not be suppressed in any other way than by an agreement of the majority to abide by certain rules and refuse to deal with those who violated such rules. It is this organization which maintains the rigorous code of business ethics above referred to. The exchange is, in fact, a large and powerful labor union, composed chiefly of the commission men, who receive and sell live stock on the market as agents for the producers and owners.

The modern packing plant, as has already been made evident, is one of the most complex and highly organized commercial developments of the age.<sup>1</sup> The almost miraculous system and attention to details which characterize its conduct are most interesting. It is, indeed, a thoroughly organized and highly trained industrial army. The most accurate analogy among social institutions is perhaps the military regiment. One of the largest packing plants at the yards may be taken as an example. At the head of the direct management of this plant is the superintendent, corresponding to the colonel of the regiment. Under him is the assistant superintendent, corresponding to the lieutenant-colonel; and several division superintendents or staff aids, corresponding to orderlies, etc. The whole plant is divided into departments similar to battalions. At the head of each

<sup>1</sup>The chief packing plants at the yards are: Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Nelson Morris & Co., Anglo-American Provision Co., Libby, McNeill & Libby, Fairbank Canning Co. (canning for Morris), Schwarzschild & Sulzberger Co. (in process of construction), Continental Packing Co., Thomas J. Lipton Co., Boyd, Lunham & Co.; all aggregating about 30,000 employes.

department is a department superintendent, corresponding to the major. Each of these department superintendents has his own staff of clerks and assistants. The department itself is also divided into sub-departments, at the head of which are sub-department superintendents, corresponding to the captains of



GENERAL OFFICES, SWIFT & CO., CHICAGO.  
(46,918 square feet in area; 685 employés.)

companies, and under these sub-department superintendents are also assistants and subordinates, corresponding to the lieutenants, sergeants, and corporals.

The lowest officer in the list is called the straw boss. He has charge of a particular small gang of workmen, like a corporal, and is perhaps one of the most typical examples, as far as organization goes, of the bearing of modern industry upon democratic social control. Where large numbers of foreigners are employed, as at the Chicago Stock Yards, he is also usually a foreigner. Sometimes inclined to be a despotic petty tyrant, the straw boss

is usually a recognized social leader among his fellows, at any rate while he holds his position. One interesting function which he performs in connection with his position is the bringing of his friends and relatives from foreign countries to America by letters and descriptions of the opportunities of profitable employment.<sup>1</sup> Thus, where companies themselves are prohibited by law from importing contract labor, the straw boss and his friends virtually import foreign labor for contract, often assisting their neighbors across the water to make the voyage by means of loans or gifts of money. Wages at the yards are usually better than those received in foreign countries by the peasants thus brought into the work in this country; and this fact indicates an often overlooked field of positive service rendered by great American industries to the growth of universal democracy.

The division of each department into sub-departments may be illustrated in the case of a single sausage department, as follows:

Department superintendent.	
Assistant superintendent.	
General clerk.	Assistant clerk.
Foreman of making division.	Foreman of receiving and shipping division.
1. Summer-sausage rockers.	1. Supply-room.
2. Summer-sausage stuffers.	2. Casing-room.
3. Domestic sausage stuffers.	3. Summer-sausage packing-room.
4. Smoke-house.	4. Summer-sausage coolers.
5. Cooking-room.	5. Domestic-sausage coolers.
6. Pickle-trimmings.	6. Dry-rooms.
7. Tripe and pigs' feet pickling.	7. Tripe and pigs' feet packing.
8. Extract-room.	8. Sewing-room.
9. Trimming-room.	9. Spice-mixing room.
10. Boiled ham.	

Now, it is significant for the present organization of business that all of these departments and sub-departments compete against each other just as sharply as they would and do against outside companies. All products and materials passing from one department to another are bought and sold by the departments concerned at the market rates given out at the beginning

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy here that MR. J. M. GILLETTE, entirely independently of the present writer, found similar methods in use at South Chicago. Cf. AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, July, 1901, p. 120.

of each day by the superintendent or his subordinates. In this way the strictest economy, division of labor, and definite location of responsibility are secured. Properly conducted, this organization of business is highly efficient and wholesome, but it, of course, may lend itself readily to abuses of management.

One of the chief difficulties in the management of a great plant is the proper organization and direction of foreign labor. And no place is more typical in this respect than the Chicago Stock Yards. As an illustration of this fact the following nationality census of a typical producing department is submitted. It is but slightly more varied than most of the other departments, and represents a total force of 225:

Germans	-	-	-	98	Canadians	-	-	-	2
Americans	-	-	-	50	Russians	-	-	-	2
Irish	-	-	-	29	Welsh	-	-	-	2
Polish	-	-	-	13	Swedes	-	-	-	1
Bohemians	-	-	-	13	Norwegians	-	-	-	1
English	-	-	-	6	Swiss	-	-	-	1
French	-	-	-	3	Finlanders	-	-	-	1
Dutch	-	-	-	2	Italians	-	-	-	1

It will readily be seen from this showing that to maintain such a heterogeneous force in harmonious and efficient co-operation involves no small problem. The managers who endeavor to direct such a body of workmen—often new to American ways, ignorant of the language, timorous, quick to take offense, and slow to understand—deserve public encouragement and the fullest co-operation of all the agencies of general education and enlightenment.

The system of time-keeping and employment connected with one of these large plants is an important aspect of the organization. When workmen are needed in any department, the head concerned either goes out to the streets near the time-keeping office, where men are usually waiting to be employed, and selects the workmen himself, or he sends his instructions to the time-keeping office and has the workmen selected by officers there. In the plant taken above as an example, this selection is made by the private policeman stationed at the time-keeping offices. When a workman has been selected, he receives from the clerk



at the time-keeping office in the morning a small brass check with his number upon it. This is his individual certificate of employment. During the middle of the forenoon time-keeping clerks make the rounds of the various departments, noting all absences upon their records. This is again repeated in the middle of the afternoon, and at the end of the day's work the workman deposits again in the time-keeping office his brass check, to be received once more the next morning, when a new start is made. Thus each manual workman in the plant is regularly marked four times a day with respect to his presence or absence.

In addition to these general divisions of the organization, each of the larger plants has its own private police department, fire and water departments, and, as is coming to be the case, its own medical department, where accidents and sickness occurring in the course of the work are given attention at the expense of the company.

#### SECTION IV. BENEFITS TO DEMOCRACY BY THE LIVE-STOCK AND MEAT-PACKING INDUSTRY OF CHICAGO.

The positive and direct benefits to the cause of modern democracy most conspicuously evident in the organization of industry at the Chicago Stock Yards are, of course, chiefly commercial and economic. But through these means, and also more incidentally, there are very substantial benefits of a broader social nature conferred by the industry. The former may be enumerated as follows:

1. Increase and qualitative improvement in the live-stock production.
2. Increase in corn production.
3. Development of railway facilities.
4. The reduction in the cost of meat foods.
5. The expansion and development of export trade.
6. The stimulus to important banking and exchange interests.
7. The better regulation of the flow of goods and of the range of prices.

In addition to these, the more broadly social benefits arising from this great organization of business at the Chicago Stock Yards are as follows:



1. The improvement of legislative control over the conditions and methods of the business through its centralization and organization in the factory form.

2. The opening up of the great West to effective cultivation and settlement.

3. The bringing of the more backward peoples of the earth by immigration and disciplinary organization up more closely to the progressive American standard of life; and

4. The movement toward the organization—through the extension of foreign commerce and the attendant diffusion of the ideals and practices of civilization—of a more complete political and social unity throughout the world.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE STOCK YARD COMMUNITY AT CHICAGO.

THE chief cause of the difficulty in the problem of modern city life is the lack of accurate public information about local conditions. With our cities growing much more rapidly than the country districts, great hordes of population, of diverse languages, customs, and habits, are being annually crowded into congested city wards, where, in the absence of any adequate knowledge of the special laws and the peculiar conditions of health and livelihood, life becomes a wild, sodden sickening, inhuman, and infinitely tragical struggle; not only a menace to those finer dreams of a noble, joyous, and beautiful national life, but a threat even to the very essentials of a common and decent civilization itself. To supply some of these needed elements of knowledge, therefore, in the case of a single typical industrial community of a great American city, and thus to illustrate a method of gathering such data in general, is the purpose of the present chapter. The aim will be to take up, after a preliminary survey of the general physical and racial conditions of the locality, a description of the present local status of each of the fundamental elements which go to make a complete democracy.

#### SECTION V. GEOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNIC ASPECTS OF THE STOCK YARD COMMUNITY.

That the locality of the Chicago Stock Yards is a typical modern industrial community may be illustrated by the accompanying map, No. 4, of the city of Chicago. This map, made up from official drawings of the city election commissioners and commissioner of health as a basis,<sup>1</sup> indicates the geographical relation of the largest industries of the city to the districts of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chicago Department of Health, *Monthly Bulletin*, October, 1900.

greatest child mortality, overcrowding, foreign population, lack of sanitation, criminality (as shown by arrests), ignorance, and economic distress. The shaded portions of the map indicate the districts where these abnormal conditions most generally exist. The black spots indicate roughly the locations of the great industries which have made Chicago famous. The special locality selected for the present study is inclosed in heavy black lines, and is bounded on the north by Thirty-ninth street, on the west by Western boulevard, on the south by Fifty-fifth street or Garfield boulevard, and on the east by Lake Michigan. The Stock Yard district proper comprises only that part of this particular territory lying west of State street. The part lying east of State street, which we have called the Hyde Park district, has been introduced for the sake of comparison and contrast, to bring out into more clear relief the essential problems of the situation. By comparison of the Stock Yard district with other industrial districts of the city, it may be seen at a glance, and will be brought out more fully in detail later, that this district has all the characteristic traits of the industrial community.

With respect to the general character of the land of this locality, it may be noted that, like the most of Chicago, it is low, and naturally swampy, being in most places but a few feet above the level of Lake Michigan, and formed originally of glacial drift.

Regarding the ethnic constitution and the population of the district, the following tables (Nos. II, III, IV, and V) furnish some interesting statistics.<sup>1</sup> The Hyde Park district covers the territory designated before the last change of ward boundaries (in 1900) as the thirty-second ward. The Stock Yard district, on the other hand, covers the territory of the first twenty-seven

<sup>1</sup> The importance of accuracy makes it worth while to indicate in some detail the methods employed in the treatment of statistics in this study. The present condition of the local census and statistical records makes it impossible to secure, in the case of Tables II, III, and IV, minute accuracy. The official totals, which are given wherever possible, do not in every instance in these tables exactly agree with those independently arrived at. But the figures here given, it is believed, represent, with entirely sufficient accuracy, the general conditions of the distribution of the population.

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precincts of the old twenty-ninth ward and the first thirty-five precincts of the old thirtieth ward. Tables II, III, and IV give a compilation of statistics for these three ward sections respectively, taken from the Chicago public-school census of 1898,

TABLE II.<sup>1</sup>

POPULATION AND NATIVITY STATISTICS OF TWENTY-NINTH WARD, FIRST TWENTY-SEVEN PRECINCTS (OLD DIVISION), IN 1898.

(Based on public-school census. Consult Map No. 5.)

Precincts.	American.	German.	English.	Canadian.	Irish.	Scandinavian.	Slavic.	Colored.	All Others.	Total Population by Precincts.	Precincts More than $\frac{1}{2}$ American.	Prec. $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ Foreign.	Precincts More than $\frac{3}{4}$ Foreign.	Average Population per Block by Precincts.
1	200	463	33	6	267	15	4	65	60	1,113	....	1	371	
2	168	365	66	15	950	35	15	45	1,593	....	2	308		
3	300	648	61	23	400	62	8	67	1,649	....	3	549		
4	500	854	49	12	374	119	27	9	1,970	....	4	328		
5	310	904	101	21	453	83	34	68	2,010	....	5	670		
6	380	534	39	15	738	77	....	25	1,863	....	6	465		
7	282	478	55	48	770	35	1	....	1,716	....	7	245		
8	290	244	39	77	1,161	73	11	....	1,983	....	8	396		
9	201	419	24	36	665	53	13	30	1,460	....	9	292		
10	130	1,066	101	4	624	41	82	....	2,100	....	10	700		
11	320	237	37	38	724	1	....	21	1,435	....	11	358		
12	510	276	103	27	1,051	14	8	29	2,138	....	12	305		
13	416	88	54	7	1,183	19	1	....	1,778	....	13	502		
14	410	58	37	48	859	9	2	41	1,542	....	14	385		
15	125	105	85	65	1,235	25	25	....	1,665	....	15	266		
16	501	108	33	20	931	12	28	81	1,758	....	16	331		
17	101	90	28	9	1,441	15	18	....	1,722	....	17	287		
18	139	238	46	34	774	7	17	....	1,276	....	18	116		
19	505	167	40	13	455	30	18	64	1,319	....	19	131		
20	600	66	20	20	396	11	1	18	1,242	....	20	310		
21	518	99	57	27	414	6	20	....	1,184	....	21	236		
22	227	345	51	13	678	9	211	....	1,578	....	22	197		
23	75	153	63	24	415	....	151	....	936	....	23	244		
24	35	84	8	10	149	761	659	....	2,006	....	24	334		
25	101	182	33	7	593	12	240	....	1,176	....	25	164		
26	417	299	73	142	800	13	46	....	1,817	....	26	129		
27	83	159	18	2	171	....	1,105	....	1,728	....	27	192		
*	7,784	8,759	1,328	763	18,671	1,530	2,757	558	1,620	43,770 = total population.				

\* Totals of nationalities.

<sup>1</sup> These tables of chap. ii have been introduced with a special view to enabling pastors, charity workers, school-teachers particularly, and, in fact, all social specialists or patriotic citizens, to locate accurately and clearly the conditions with which they have to deal. They offer an example of what ought to be done for every district of every great city, and either worked up by or placed within the easy comprehension of the pupils in the public schools, so that they may become aware of their surroundings.

which is the latest nativity census available, and fairly representative of the facts for the present time.<sup>1</sup> These tables each

TABLE III.

POPULATION AND NATIVITY STATISTICS OF THIRTIETH WARD, FIRST THIRTY-FIVE PRECINCTS (OLD DIVISION), IN 1898.

(Based on public-school census. Consult Map No. 5.)

Precincts.	American.	German.	English.	Canadian.	Irish.	Scandinavian.	Slavic.	Colored.	All Others.	Total Population by Precincts.	Precincts More than $\frac{1}{2}$ American.	Precincts $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ Foreign.	Precincts More than $\frac{3}{4}$ Foreign.	Average Population per Block by Precincts.
1	916	113	27	33	174	62	33	30	55	1,443	1	..	..	230
2	970	226	75	36	183	19	12	85	119	1,725	2	..	..	287
3	1,168	264	57	23	133	19	3	23	31	1,721	3	..	..	286
4	666	234	63	8	223	51	17	12	29	1,303	4	..	..	217
5	391	161	50	24	222	422	8	20	71	1,378	..	5	..	275
6	208	256	46	8	394	613	19	30	109	1,683	..	..	6	361
7	289	431	21	..	343	359	8	13	44	1,507	..	..	7	251
8	262	575	20	43	387	24	7	9	..	1,310	..	..	8	219
9	615	318	42	37	207	91	2	19	29	1,360	..	9	..	170
10	231	303	55	47	430	224	1	76	35	1,402	..	..	10	280
11	441	492	22	37	312	547	4	82	56	1,995	..	..	11	399
12	752	425	68	31	296	31	18	35	116	1,772	..	12	..	177
13	521	270	41	21	403	7	..	38	43	1,344	..	12	..	328
14	477	229	24	73	322	3	50	52	38	1,268	..	14	..	148
15	277	149	97	29	1,045	25	4	57	100	1,779	..	..	15	328
16	382	111	84	62	473	31	25	84	52	1,304	..	16	..	118
17	163	112	35	34	811	13	..	54	80	1,302	..	..	17	134
18	234	369	97	64	421	48	21	12	76	1,342	..	..	18	310
19	272	878	36	61	479	33	8	9	88	1,864	..	..	19	187
20	446	314	48	86	614	27	10	..	142	1,687	..	..	20	173
21	843	400	..	..	45	17	1	55	30	1,381	21	..	..	157
22	1,137	378	35	21	377	14	8	33	38	2,041	22	..	..	315
23	177	1,063	27	22	280	9	524	54	49	2,145	..	..	23	182
24	235	547	36	135	711	45	213	11	70	2,003	..	..	24	439
25	42	942	6	1	208	1,103	774	28	95	2,199	..	..	25	334
26	94	394	38	31	419	104	545	..	49	1,674	..	..	26	515
27	210	1,188	6	14	481	8	46	37	73	2,063	..	..	27	285
28	152	1,079	45	14	89	11	572	..	33	1,995	..	..	28	115
29	232	1,464	47	411	..	8	33	..	90	2,285	..	..	29	246
30	346	1,192	48	9	293	9	277	..	44	2,218	..	..	30	407
31	203	820	46	18	202	30	201	..	19	1,629	..	..	31	376
32	60	772	9	26	216	1	1,202	..	29	2,316	..	..	32	73
33	52	661	10	..	207	11	1,224	..	32	2,197	..	..	33	124
34	71	200	6	..	33	..	2,296	..	15	2,621	..	..	34	37
35	79	1,382	54	14	153	45	478	..	17	2,222	..	..	35	..
*	14,033	19,265	1,420	1,545	17,431	4,086	9,113	988	2,170	69,997 = total population.				

\* Totals of nationalities.

<sup>1</sup> This school census, while it may not be thoroughly accurate in all respects, was selected chiefly because it was the only available material on the subject, but also because personal conversation with some of the enumerators has convinced the writer of its practical validity.

TABLE IV.

POPULATION AND NATIVITY STATISTICS OF THE THIRTY-SECOND WARD BY PRECINCTS (OLD DIVISION), IN 1898.

(Based upon public-school census. Consult Map No. 5.)

Precincts.	American.	German.	English.	Canadian.	Irish.	Scandinavian.	Slavic.	Colored.	All Others.	Total Population by Precincts.	Precincts More than $\frac{1}{2}$ American.	Precincts $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ Foreign.	Precincts More than $\frac{3}{4}$ Foreign.	Average Population per Block by Precincts.
1	858	191	58	44	123	60	2	20	42	1,407	1	..	..	351
2	600	79	46	17	80	45	6	30	41	936	2	..	..	312
3	756	117	33	15	112	45	6	20	58	1,162	3	..	..	322
4	840	132	40	9	104	18	1	20	49	1,222	4	..	..	174
5	508	203	60	49	256	52	11	..	48	1,196	..	5	..	170
6	800	94	37	5	186	26	8	25	34	1,215	6	..	..	173
7	1,200	166	68	37	163	31	4	17	33	1,719	7	..	..	343
8	760	87	20	8	66	21	3	22	38	1,025	8	..	..	256
9	805	99	24	16	85	26	5	20	39	1,110	9	..	..	373
10	1,000	133	43	50	93	47	20	14	45	1,445	10	..	..	289
11	804	76	68	48	81	59	11	..	42	1,189	11	..	..	148
12	946	109	34	14	176	44	..	40	38	1,401	12	..	..	233
13	935	131	65	42	79	54	..	20	39	1,365	13	..	..	341
14	670	145	75	6	91	50	..	20	26	1,083	14	..	..	216
15	550	130	60	70	138	80	61	26	105	1,229	..	15	..	409
16	640	204	10	11	70	86	12	10	42	1,085	16	..	..	361
17	600	188	3	26	125	7	13	24	74	1,060	17	..	..	354
18	530	318	7	13	122	28	15	29	117	1,179	18	..	..	235
19	513	99	20	22	74	33	..	5	67	833	19	..	..	166
20	800	132	24	28	149	17	5	20	22	1,197	20	..	..	239
21	605	114	14	14	105	19	4	30	87	992	21	..	..	108
22	703	129	6	..	147	73	18	30	86	1,192	22	..	..	170
23	340	249	4	40	204	27	5	26	149	1,044	..	23	..	163
24	960	260	14	40	100	68	4	26	155	1,627	24	..	..	325
25	806	239	6	42	129	83	10	20	177	1,512	25	..	..	252
26	510	126	8	43	115	77	32	..	127	1,038	..	26	..	259
27	1,103	183	15	23	133	131	25	40	77	1,730	27	..	..	346
28	971	172	7	21	107	132	4	20	70	1,504	28	..	..	378
29	1,120	103	8	39	148	103	5	19	114	1,659	29	..	..	331
30	1,220	88	11	47	154	186	5	29	155	1,895	30	..	..	145
31	600	189	15	37	84	56	2	..	93	1,076	31	..	..	178
32	1,010	157	18	41	137	115	..	16	121	1,615	32	..	..	230
33	760	256	5	48	80	40	..	25	81	1,215	33	..	..	185
34	960	295	11	11	140	81	10	26	140	1,683	34	..	..	153
35	850	267	6	19	68	29	11	12	123	1,385	35	..	..	230
36	480	171	3	25	212	34	8	6	65	1,004	..	36	..	111
37	270	256	6	25	114	28	8	7	108	822	..	37	..	117
38	820	183	14	18	185	40	20	22	97	1,399	38	..	..	107
39	810	180	14	64	145	76	44	12	142	1,486	39	..	..	106
40	1,250	140	7	34	102	272	2	43	147	2,057	40	..	..	85
41	800	60	41	14	107	96	3	..	49	1,170	41	..	..	224
42	560	48	16	39	52	84	47	..	67	913	42	..	..	130
43	1,240	74	16	24	70	81	3	29	78	1,615	43	..	..	161
44	684	193	2	20	167	71	7	..	91	1,235	44	..	..	123
45	1,045	40	5	13	83	52	..	..	130	1,368	45	..	..	273
46	1,079	291	29	44	181	135	2	..	66	1,827	46	..	..	152
47	819	179	16	46	179	82	..	..	167	1,488	47	..	..	64
48	628	172	11	75	185	57	6	..	130	1,264	48	..	..	79
49	415	101	5	15	187	37	3	..	132	885	..	49	..	111
*	38,542	7,866	1,128	1,469	6,268	3,090	655	843	4,375	64,246 = total population.				

\*Totals of nationalities.



show the total population of their respective districts both by precincts and by chief nationalities. Only the more prominent ethnic groups are enumerated, as follows: American, German, English, Canadian, Irish, Scandinavian, Slavic, and colored (negro). The rest are grouped under one head by themselves. In making up the totals of these nationalities for each precinct, the figures given in the census under each head (as distributed to indicate foreign-born, native-born of foreign parents, and native-born

TABLE V.

COMPARATIVE POPULATION AND NATIVITY STATISTICS OF HYDE PARK AND STOCK YARD DISTRICTS OF CHICAGO IN 1898.

		Americans.	Germans.	English.	Canadians.	Irish.	Scandi- navians.	Slavs.	Negroes.	All Others.	Totals.	Proportions of Total of Population.
Hyde Park District.	Number ... Proportion.	28,542 60%	7,866 12.9%	1,138 1.7%	1,469 2.4%	6,268 9.7%	3,090 4.6%	655 1%	843 1.3%	4,375 7%	64,246	1.00
Stock Yard District.	Number ... Proportion.	21,817 19%	28,024 24.6%	2,748 2.4%	2,308 2%	36,048 31.6%	5,616 4.9%	11,870 10.2%	1,546 1.3%	3,790 3.3%	113,767	1.77
Entire City.	Number ... Proportion.	488,683 26.39%	490,542 26.4%	44,223 2.38%	34,907 1.88%	248,124 14.41%	156,880 7.93%	241,036 14.09%	25,814 1.39%	132,484 7.15%	1,851,588	28.82

with one parent foreign) were added together. In the case of the Scandinavians, also, the figures for Norwegians and Swedes were added together, and in the case of the Slavs, the figures for the Poles, Bohemians, Hungarians, and Russians were added together. This procedure, of course, would make the foreign population of the city, or of the district, appear very large; but the method seems to be justified by the generally observed fact that until we reach the second generation we do not find, as a rule, the elements of foreign customs, traditions, and views of life to be sufficiently assimilated to American habits and ideals to be called typically American. Many of even the first generation of foreigners of course do, indeed, become quickly imbued with the American spirit, but, nevertheless, we believe that the above distinction of foreign and American will hold. On the right side of each of these tables will be seen indicated the total

population by precincts, the precincts more than one-half American, precincts one-half to three-fourths foreign, precincts more than three-fourths foreign, and the average population per block by precincts.

Table V was compiled from Tables II, III, and IV, in order to cover exactly the Hyde Park and Stock Yard districts in two sections (instead of three) for the sake of comparison.<sup>1</sup> This was done<sup>2</sup> by adding together the figures already worked out in Tables II and III for the first thirty-five precincts of the thirtieth ward and the first twenty-seven precincts of the twenty-ninth ward. The results of this comparison of the populations of the Hyde Park and Stock Yard districts with each other and with that of the entire city, as shown in Table V, are as follows: While the entire city is more than 26 per cent. American, the Hyde Park district is more than 50 per cent. American, and the Stock Yard district but little more than 19 per cent. American. In the entire city 26 per cent. of the population is shown to be German, in the Hyde Park district 12 per cent. is German, and in the Stock Yard district 24 per cent. is German; in the entire city more than 14 per cent. of the population is Irish, in the Hyde Park district 9 per cent. and a fraction is Irish, and in the Stock Yard district more than 31 per cent. is Irish. As for the Slavic group, in the entire city 14 per cent., in the Hyde Park district 1 per cent., and in the Stock Yard district 10 per cent. represent the distribution. It will easily be seen, then, from these tables that the bulk of the population of the Stock Yard district may properly be said to be foreign. And, as indicated in the right-hand column of Tables II, III, and IV, the population seems to be concentrated in the precincts near the yards—particularly in the first sixteen precincts of the twenty-ninth ward, and in the sixth, eleventh, thirteenth, sixteenth, nineteenth,

<sup>1</sup> See Map 4.

<sup>2</sup> By actual count from the census statistics for several years, it was found that the proportion of the thirtieth ward population lying outside of the Stock Yard district was about 40 per cent. of the total population of the ward. Sixty per cent. of the total population of the thirtieth ward, therefore, added to the population of the twenty-ninth ward, almost all of which lies within the district, gives the total population of the Stock Yard district, as a separate locality, for any given year.

twenty-third, twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, thirty-first, and thirty-second precincts of the thirtieth ward, in all of which the population is more than three hundred per block. (See Map No. 5.)

SECTION VI. THE HEALTH INTERESTS OF THE STOCK YARD COMMUNITY.

The accompanying map, No. 5, is an enlargement of the territory marked off for special study in Map No. 4. In this enlarged map is shown the distribution of foreign population and of child mortality in the year 1898. Each black spot represents the death of a child under five years of age in that year. The precinct and ward boundaries as they stood in 1898 are indicated in the map. The precincts shaded by cross-hatching were in that year more than three-fourths foreign; those shaded by parallel lines were from one-half to three-fourths foreign; those unshaded were more than one-half American. (The source of information regarding foreign population has already been indicated.<sup>1</sup>) Regarding the location of the child deaths, recourse was had to spot maps at the office of the city department of health for 1898, for periods of three months each. These maps were copied and condensed into one, as shown in Map No. 5. To one not familiar with the situation the showing seems somewhat startling, but, as a matter of fact, it is considerably more favorable than in several other years which might have been taken. This statement may be verified by a glance at Tables VI and VII. Table VI, copied from the annual reports of the health department, shows the total number of deaths, the number of deaths of children under five years of age, the general death-rate per thousand of population, the proportion of child deaths to all deaths, and the numbers of deaths by six of the chief causes in the twenty-ninth, thirtieth, and thirty-second wards for the years 1894 to 1900 inclusive. The problem of reducing this table to cover exactly the special districts studied was solved as follows: By the spot-maps at the

<sup>1</sup> P. 291 above.

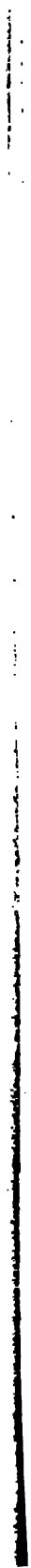




TABLE VI.

SCHEDULE OF HEALTH STATISTICS OF TWENTY-NINTH, THIRTIETH, AND THIRTY-SECOND WARDS OF CHICAGO FOR YEARS 1894-1900.

(From Reports of the Chicago Department of Health.)

Wards (Old Division).	Date.	Total Number of Deaths.	Deaths of Children under Five.	General Death-Rate per 1,000 of Population.	Proportion of Child Deaths to All Deaths.	NUMBER OF DEATHS BY SIX OF THE CHIEF CAUSES.					
						Consumption.	Pneumonia.	Bronchitis.	Typhoid Fever.	Diphtheria.	Scarlet Fever.
Twenty-Ninth Ward.	1894	585	340	14.27	57%	51	60	44	14	23	9
	1895	582	248	14.81	42	38	71	27	16	20	4
	1896	612	308	15.57	58	60	59	31	14	40	3
	1897	515	243	13.10	47	65	59	24	6	17	2
	1898	576	252	14.37	43	71	72	33	8	7	2
	1899	649	262	14.83	40	73	100	20	9	27	28
	1900	644	261	15.62	40	68	116	27	10	16	11
Thirtieth Ward.	1894	1,197	663	14.15	55	105	91	84	25	82	13
	1895	1,219	656	13.09	53	109	124	67	19	66	3
	1896	1,210	620	13.00	51	110	141	77	32	66	2
	1897	1,240	578	13.32	46	109	127	69	36	26	1
	1898	1,259	543	13.27	43	143	119	54	48	32	3
	1899	1,385	590	13.31	35	130	185	63	20	59	40
	1900	1,354	532	12.76	39	158	216	58	17	34	18
Thirty-Second Ward.	1894	437	129	9.10	29	53	37	8	9	12	4
	1895	540	133	9.08	24	48	51	12	12	26	5
	1896	551	125	10.18	22	48	46	18	18	10	0
	1897	601	133	11.11	22	47	50	14	21	19	2
	1898	656	124	11.89	18	48	66	19	19	14	1
	1899	719	141	11.84	19	60	76	18	14	13	18
	1900	774	146	11.18	19	60	95	20	10	8	11

office of the health department it was ascertained that the figures for the twenty-ninth ward were substantially correct for that part of the ward lying in the Stock Yard district. The figures for the thirty-second ward were of course correct for the Hyde Park district, but the figures for the thirtieth ward needed to be divided by a proportion which would show the number of deaths in the ward occurring within the Stock Yard district. This proportion was arrived at by an actual count of cases indicated in the death maps. Seventy per cent. of all the deaths in the thirtieth ward were thus found to lie in the Stock Yard district. Seventy-five per cent. of the child deaths were found to lie in that district, and, roughly, 60 per cent. of deaths by the chief causes enumerated in Table VI were found also to lie

TABLE VII.

Districts.	Years.	NUMBER OF DEATHS FROM SIX OF THE CHIEF CAUSES.													
		1. Total Population.	2. Number of Children under Six.	3. Proportion of Children under Six to Total Population.	4. Total Number of Deaths.	5. Deaths of Children under Five.	6. Proportion of Children's Deaths to All Deaths.	7. General Death-Rate per 1,000 of Population.	8. Death-Rate of Children under Five per 1,000	9. Consumption.	10. Bronchitis.	11. Typhoid Fever.	12. Diphtheria.	13. Pneumonia.	14. Scarlet Fever.
Hyde Park District.	1894	45,801	3,616	8.6	437	109	24	9.5	32.04	53	8	9	12	37	4
	1895	49,986	4,339	8.6	540	133	24	10.8	30.65	48	12	12	10	51	5
	1896	54,172	4,863	8.8	551	125	22	10.17	25.70	48	18	18	10	46	0
	1897	59,209	5,162	8.7	601	133	22	10.15	31.76	47	14	31	19	50	2
	1898	64,246	5,461	8.5	656	124	18	10.21	22.60	48	19	19	14	66	4
	1899	64,448	6,365	9.8	719	141	19	11.1	22.60	60	18	14	13	76	18
	1900	64,730	7,270	11.2	774	146	19	11.95	20	69	20	10	13	95	11
Totals and Averages	7 years	57,513 + av.	5,339 + av.	9.1	4,278	931	21.8	10.65	25.7	364	105	103	102	421	41
Stock Yard District.	1894	91,574	17,041	18.5	1,443	837	57	15.75	40.84	114	96	97	72	115	17
	1895	93,997	17,671	18.7	1,435	740	51	15.26	41.86	103	67	97	69	145	6
	1896	96,178	18,303	19.0	1,459	773	52.9	15.16	42.23	126	77	77	80	144	5
	1897	104,261	20,052	18.2	1,383	673	42	13.26	34.96	130	65	58	33	155	3
	1898	113,767	18,805	16.5	1,457	659	45	12.80	33.28	157	65	37	26	173	4
	1899	116,398	18,199	15.5	1,616	704	43	13.90	38.68	151	58	51	62	211	58
	1900	120,453	16,594	13.6	1,592	660	41	13.21	39.79	163	62	20	86	246	22
Totals and Averages	7 years	105,210 + av.	18,094 + av.	17.1	10,388	5,049	48.6	14.21	38.7	944	490	195	378	1,189	115
Proportions between the Two Districts	1894	1.2	1.4:35	1.2:28	1.3:30	1.6:40	1.1:06	1.1:65	1.1:53	1.2:15	1.1:20	1.1:32	1.6:00	1.3:10	1.1:45
	1900	1.1	1.2:26	1.1:21	1.2:25	1.4:59	1.2:15	1.1:10	1.1:68	1.2:71	1.3:10	1.1:50	1.4:50	1.1:58	1.1:38
	For 7 yrs	1.182	1.3:38	1.1:167	1.2:28	1.5:42	1.2:23	1.1:33	1.1:69	1.2:50	1.1:466	1.1:18	1.3:06	1.2:82	1.1:266



within the same district. In this way, by adding these proportions of the figures for the thirtieth ward to those for the twenty-ninth ward, Table VII was made up to give an accurate mortality comparison of the Stock Yard and Hyde Park districts.

From this table the final results of comparison appear as follows: In total number of deaths the Hyde Park district is to



VIEW OF SOUTH BRANCH OF CHICAGO RIVER.

the Stock Yard district as 1 : 2.42, for the seven years. The population runs from about 1 : 2 in 1894 to about 1 : 1.9 in 1900. The population of children under six, as indicated in the school census reports, runs from about 1 : 4.35 in 1894 to about 1 : 2.28 in 1900. The proportion of all the child deaths for the seven years is as 1 : 5.42. The proportion of the general death-rates for the two districts is as 1 : 1.33. The proportion of child deaths to all deaths is as 1 : 2.16, and, even taking into account the larger proportion of children in the Stock Yard district, still the proportion of death-rates of children under five (per thousand of children under six in the population) is as 1 : 1.62. As the



death-rate of young children is the most accurate measure of the health conditions of a district, it will be seen that the Stock Yard sanitary conditions are much worse than those of Hyde Park. The proportions of numbers of deaths from some of the chief causes run from 1 : 2.5 to about 1 : 4.5. This table, then, together with the map of child mortality, gives a fairly accurate representation of the general health conditions of the district.<sup>1</sup>

When we try to account for these conditions and turn to some of the physical causes of the disparity, we do not have to look very far. In the first place, the Stock Yard district is very badly paved, where there is any paving. Most of it is of wood, in a very bad state of repair, so that riding over the district on a bicycle is a difficult and uncomfortable process. This wood paving, of course, absorbs considerable impurity from the drainage and from the air. In the Hyde Park district, on the other hand, except on Wabash avenue and streets immediately adjacent, the paving is largely of macadam or asphalt. (Some of the older east and west streets, such as parts of Fifty-first and Forty-seventh, are of wood.) But in this district almost all of the streets are paved, while in the Stock Yard district many of the streets are for miles in rainy weather scarcely better than mudholes.

A glance at the health department reports shows that the amount of sewerage per mile of streets is also considerably less in the Stock Yard district than in Hyde Park. Of course, this is partly to be accounted for on the ground that there is more unoccupied land in the former district than in the latter.

The housing conditions of the two districts are so diverse in point of quality as to be at times almost incomparable. Anyone who rides observantly throughout the Stock Yard district, and then throughout the district east of it, cannot fail to be struck with the general appearance of squalor, dirt, and general dilapidation in the former, and of comparative neatness, cleanliness, order, and beauty in the latter. Many of the houses in the more thickly populated portions of the Stock Yard district are

<sup>1</sup> For further important observations refer to the table.

built in the rear of those fronting the streets, and the sanitary conditions are correspondingly bad:

Another element vital to the interests of health of the community is that of food. Aside from the mere question of quantity, or luxurious delicacy, of the food, the quality of the food of



TYPICAL RESIDENCE STREET "BACK OF THE YARDS."

people in the Stock Yard district is neither as nutritious nor, on the whole, as well prepared as that in the other district. A mere glance into the lunch boxes of the school children is sufficient to satisfy any candid mind of this fact. It may very truthfully be said that the families of the district near the yards do not, as a rule, know how to buy or to prepare food in the most economical and nutritious way. Poor cakes, jellies, and unwholesome pastry will frequently form a large part of the luncheons of the school children, who seem to have almost a special craving cultivated

for such things; and a study of the budgets of some of the most typical families of the district reveals much the same condition of affairs.

But perhaps the most striking physical evidence of the bad sanitation of the district comes to light in connection with the city garbage dump situated in this locality. The dump, which for many years was a standing by-word in the district, was



CITY GARBAGE DUMP IN THE CHICAGO STOCK YARD DISTRICT (RECENTLY ABANDONED).

located on and near Roby street, between Forty-fourth and Forty-seventh streets. Views of this dump are shown in the accompanying photographs. It is not to be wondered at that, with this vast amount of refuse cast within a stone's throw of some of the citizens' houses, the death-rate of children should have been in past years very high in this locality. This particular dumping place has now, however, been, in part at least, abandoned, and the city refuse is being cast along the railroad tracks on Forty-ninth street, between Western boulevard and Loomis street.<sup>1</sup> It is asserted, and with some show of truth, that this garbage thrown upon Forty-ninth street is composed largely of ashes, but the practice would not be tolerated for a

<sup>1</sup>Spring, 1901.







moment in the Hyde Park district; and on principles of democracy, and even of fair and decent justice, could not be tolerated anywhere.

SECTION VII. SOCIABILITY INTERESTS OF THE STOCK YARD COMMUNITY.

Every community has its social life, its distinctively sociable or convivial practices and means of intercourse. This is, to be sure, as true of the Stock Yard district as of the Hyde Park district, but it is true in a different measure and in a very different way. Map No. 6, showing the distribution of public institutions for the two districts, as well as of criminality (as judged by number of arrests), shows that almost all of the distinctly social clubs having substantial and permanent location



CHILDREN OF THE DISTRICT GATHERING CHRISTMAS TROPHIES FROM THE DUMP.

and organization in the whole territory are located in the Hyde Park district. This, of course, does not mean that there are no distinctly social organizations in the Stock Yard district, but it would indicate that they are much more evanescent and less permanently organized. Common observation and experience will verify this. In the latter district the saloons and the churches, together with dance halls, form almost all the centers of social intercourse; and of these the saloons play by far the largest part, although, in connection with the Catholic and Lutheran churches in particular, some very helpful social societies are organized.

The saloon problem as it appears in these two contrasted districts deserves special attention. Hyde Park, as is well



known, is almost wholly a prohibition district. The boundaries of the district are, in general, from the alleys east of State street to the lake, with the exception of certain "reserved pieces" on Fifty-first street near Grand boulevard, on the west side of Cottage Grove avenue just north of Fifty-first street, and on Lake avenue south of Fifty-fourth place. In the Stock Yard district there is also a small but interesting prohibition



THE NOON "CAN RUSH" FROM ARMOUR'S TO "WHISKY POINT" FOR BEER.

locality. The boundaries of this are from the alley east of Halsted street to the Pittsburg & Fort Wayne Railroad tracks, and from the alley south of Forty-third street to Forty-ninth street. The existence of prohibition here is due chiefly to two facts: first, the residence within the locality of many of the more cultured and intelligent persons doing business in the yards, including a number of managers and their families; and, second, the influence of a single earnest and able Catholic priest, Father Dorney, who is in charge of St. Gabriel's Church. Some nine or ten years ago this man, backed by the better sentiment of his community, successfully made the fight to drive out the saloons, and, with a like support, has kept them out

ever since. In the Hyde Park district proper, as shown in the map of institutions, there are but twenty-one saloons, while in the Stock Yard district there are over five hundred. Calculating five hundred dollars for each license, and at least five hundred dollars more for the support of the saloon-keeper and his family, which is a very low estimate, it will be seen that at least a half million dollars of the meager incomes of the people in the Stock Yard district pass through the tills of the saloons every year, while certainly a very much smaller proportion of the generous incomes in the other district is so used, notwithstanding the probably greater proportion of *private* drinking there.<sup>1</sup> What does it mean that the people living in Hyde Park and some of those living near Father Dorney's church do not want saloons and will not have them, while the people living elsewhere in the Stock Yard district are willing to be so nearly swamped by them? It is a question which many in the latter district might do well to ask themselves. It means obviously that the people who, either through hereditary advantages or force of character, have advanced in civilization enough to find their places among those who rule the world and direct its enterprises, will not tolerate the saloons near their homes; while those more retarded, who are ruled, want the saloons and give up to them, without any adequate return, but frequently with only added moral and physical depravity, their hard-earned wages. Men who strike for higher wages, without any resolve to reform their drink habits, would sometimes do well to reflect on this situation. That suggests one side—and an important side—of the question of industrial betterment. The other is that in these poorer districts the presence of the saloons may be largely accounted for by the absence of decent and cheerful home life; and this absence may itself often be accounted for by municipal neglect, insufficient public revenue, and scales of wages inadequate to furnish the comforts, and sometimes even the decencies, of life.

The University of Chicago Settlement deserves notice in this connection. It is located at No. 4638 Ashland avenue. The

<sup>1</sup> Consult Map No. 7.



recently erected gymnasium and assembly building is just east on Gross avenue. This institution is furnishing a very positive and much-needed place and opportunities for wholesome and uplifting intercourse in this community. Here every day classes, clubs, and societies of various kinds meet under the



MANUAL TRAINING AT THE SETTLEMENT.

most refined influences, and yet under conditions entirely free from any spirit or even appearance of patronage or condescending charity. It is in the truest and highest sense a mission station of the gospel of plain living and high thinking.

Of theaters there are none of any particular importance in the Stock Yard district. Among the chief sources of special social amusement for the young people of the community are, of course, the dancing clubs. Some of these are reasonably well, but many of them are very loosely conducted. The standards of all are of more distinctly rural and hilariously informal type than are those of the Hyde Park district.



EVENING AT THE SETTLEMENT.

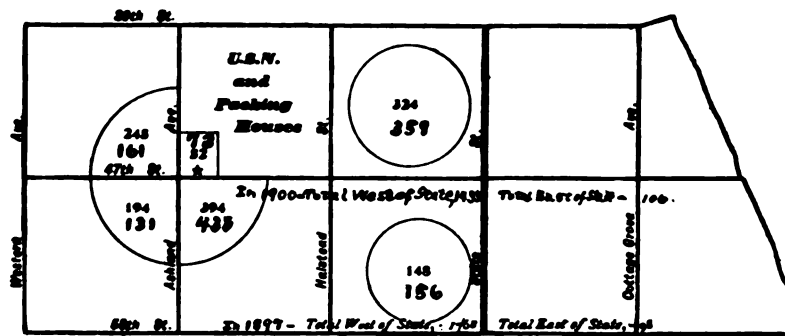


THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO SETTLEMENT GYMNASIUM  
AND SKATING POND.

## SECTION VIII. THE ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF THE STOCK YARD COMMUNITY.

Of course, the chief economic interests of this community derive their special significance from the relation of the people to the Stock Yards. But aside from the particular part which the Stock Yards play in the economic life of the people, which will be discussed later, there are certain broad facts relating to the general economic conditions of the people which ought to be noted here. Map No. 7, indicating the relative distribution

MAP OF STOCK YARD AND HYDE PARK DISTRICTS SHOWING LOCATION OF DISTRESS.



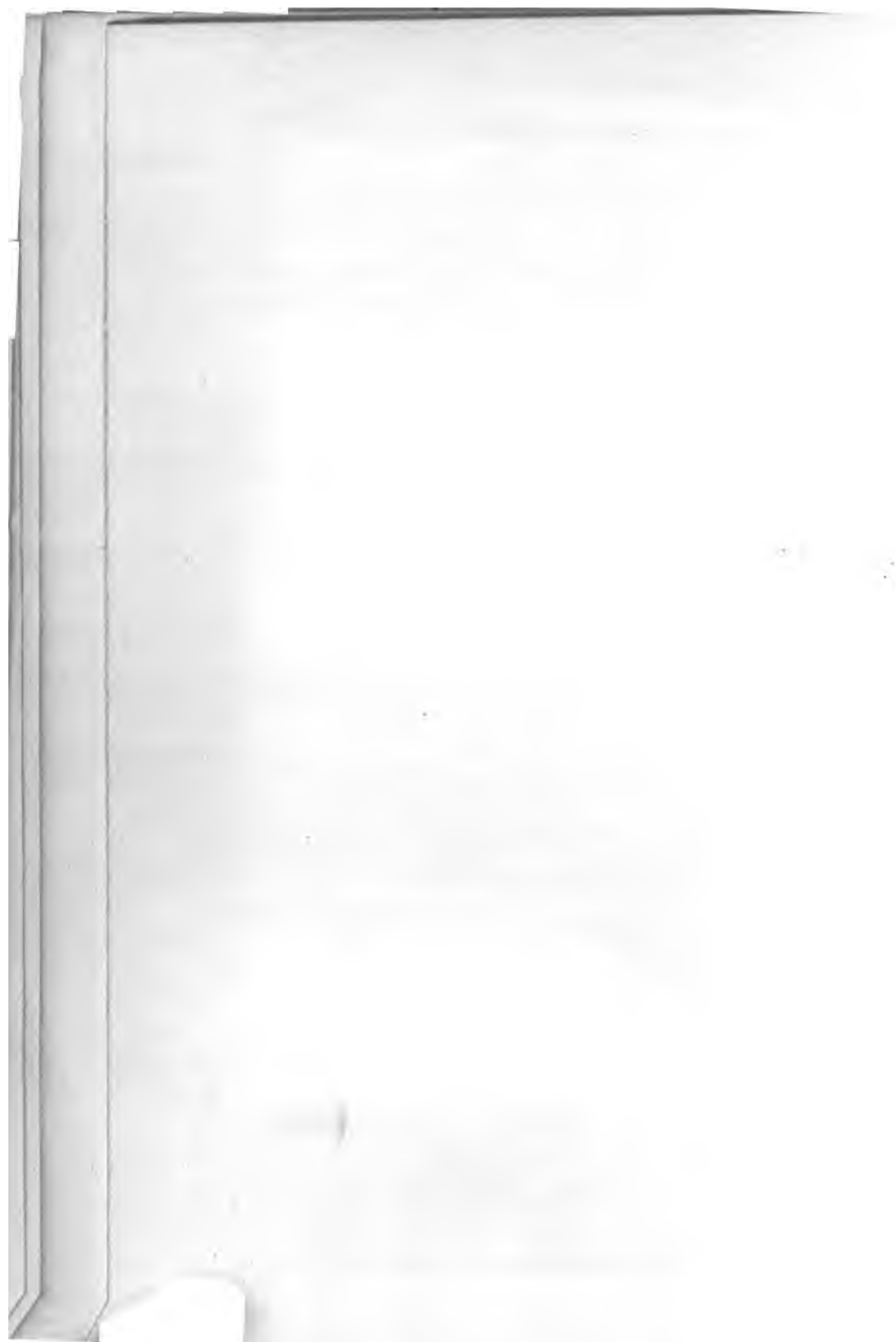
\* District office of the Bureau of Charities, 4661 Gross avenue.

Numbers in inclosed spaces refer to families applying for help and living within the territory so inclosed. These circles inclose only a little over two and a half square miles out of a total of nine square miles, but in 1897 they included 1,357 out of 1,860 cases of distress, and in 1900, 1,424 out of 1,539 cases. That is, in 1897 70 per cent. of the distress is found in 27 per cent. of the territory, while in 1900 92½ per cent. of the distress is found in 27 per cent. of the territory. (Heavy figures are for 1900.)

of families in economic distress, and of incomes, shows the decided contrast presented by these two districts relative to the consumption of the necessities and comforts of life. The accompanying diagram, taken from the *Report of the Bureau of Associated Charities* for the territory covered by the map, shows that, in 1897, 70 per cent. of the distress was found in 27 per cent. of the territory; while in 1900 92.5 per cent. of the distress was found in 27 per cent. of the territory. The territory referred to lies wholly within the Stock Yard district. The







distribution of families in distress, as shown upon Map No. 7, was compiled from the records of the Bureau of Charities' office. The shaded portions of the map, of course somewhat roughly, show respectively the localities in which the families annually receive, on the average, incomes of less than five hundred dollars; of from five hundred dollars to fifteen hundred dollars; and of from fifteen hundred dollars to five thousand dollars. The blank areas would indicate areas of average incomes of more than five thousand dollars.\* Further, there is here shown the location of contributors to the support of this special district office of the Bureau of Charities, and of course most of these contributors live in the Hyde Park district. In this connection it is significant to note the fact, indicative of the vaguely apprehended and poorly organized conditions of life in our large cities, that the very community which is thus helping to support the agency which is trying to rescue the people of the Stock Yard district from the effects of their bad sanitary and economic conditions, is at the same time, perhaps without recognizing the fault, sending its garbage over into the Stock Yard district to make its sanitary and economic conditions worse. The accompanying Table No. VIII, compiled from the Bureau of Charities' reports, shows the condition of the work of that particular institution, and, in addition, the following partial list of philanthropic institutions, located and doing work in the whole territory, shows, in conjunction with the map, the strength and distribution of these associations :

PARTIAL LIST OF PHILANTHROPIES LOCATED IN THE TERRITORY STUDIED.

*Schools.*—Chicago Industrial School for Girls, 4900 Prairie avenue, dependent girls, 3-4, Catholic.

*Institutions.*—Chicago Home for the Friendless, Fifty-first street and Vincennes avenue, healthy children and women, non-sectarian; Chicago Orphan Asylum, Fifty-first street and Grand boulevard, orphan and destitute

\* The basis upon which this distribution of incomes is indicated is threefold: (1) personal visitation and residence of some years near the territory; (2) consultation with a large proportion of the ministers of the territory upon the subject; (3) corroborative evidence of all of the other data, including maps, tables, and diagrams in the present study. (On this matter the United States census, which might perhaps throw some light on this subject, is not yet available.)

TABLE VIII.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF THE STOCK YARD DISTRICT BUREAU OF ASSOCIATED CHARITIES FOR THE YEARS 1897 AND 1900.

ITEMS OF INFORMATION.	Number in 1897.	Number in 1900.	Number per 1,000 of Population in 1897.	Number per 1,000 of Population in 1900.	Proportion for the Two Years per 1,000 of Population West of State street.
1. Population of the district west of State street* ....	104,216	120,453	.....	.....	absolute pro. 1:1.15
2. Population of the district east of State street* .....	59,209	64,730	.....	.....	absolute pro. 1:1.09
3. Number of families registered west of State street (Stock Yard district proper) .....	1,762	1,433	17—	12—	1:7+
4. Number of families registered east of State street (Hyde Park district) .....	98	106	1+	2—	1:2—
5. Total number of family cases on record .....	3,000	4,300	29—	35—	1:1.20
6. Total number of individual cases on record .....	15,000	21,500	145—	175—	1:1.20
7. Number of applications for the bureau's services ..	1,150	2,074	11+	17+	1:1.54
8. Number of different cases investigated .....	600	726	6—	6+	1:1
9. Number of cases treated .....	966	1,213	9+	10+	1:1.11
10. Total receipts .....	\$1,217.77	\$2,079.43	\$11.52	\$23.69	1:2.05 absolute pro.
11. Total cost .....	\$1,201.85	\$2,854.59	.....	.....	1:2.37 absolute pro.
12. Cost per case treated .....	\$1.25	\$2.35	.....	.....	1:1.80
13. Friendly visitors active .....	100	51	1—	.4+	1: .4
14. Places of employment secured through bureau office (aside from friendly visitors' work, etc.) ....	100	199	1—	1.5+	1:1.5
15. Women employed in "workroom for women" .....	169	44	1.5+	.4—	1: .27
16. Cases of material aid secured through office .....	810	580	8—	5—	1: .62
a. Food and clothing .....	468	199	.....	.....	.....
b. Fuel .....	233	133	.....	.....	.....
c. Cash loans and gifts .....	43	173	.....	.....	.....
d. Transportation .....	10	54	.....	.....	.....
e. Other forms .....	41	21	.....	.....	.....
17. Cases of medical aid secured through office .....	131	98	.....	.....	.....
18. Referred for care to appropriate institution .....	41	490	.4—	4.+	1:40
19. Children and mothers given summer outing .....	.....	340	.....	3	0:3

children, non-sectarian; Chicago Erring Women's Refuge for Reform, 5024 Indiana avenue, non-sectarian; Little Sisters of the Poor—South Side Home for Aged Poor, Fifty-first street and Prairie avenue, capacity 60, Catholic; Church Home for Aged Persons, 4327 Ellis avenue, Episcopal, life inmates, 500.

*Miscellaneous.*—Friendly Aid Society, 3961 Drexel boulevard; Visiting Nurse Association; La Rabida Convent, Sanitarium Association; The University of Chicago Settlement, 4638 Ashland avenue.

#### SOCIETIES WORKING IN THIS TERRITORY, BUT LOCATED OUTSIDE.

Relief and Aid Society, 51 La Salle street; county agent, 6140 Wentworth avenue; School Children's Aid Society, 158 Monroe street; United



Hebrew Charities, 223 E. Twenty-sixth street; Bureau of Justice, 59 Dearborn street; Protective Agency for Women and Children, 79 Dearborn street.

Table No. IX, which was made up in 1896 from *Records of the County Agent for Outdoor Relief for the Town of Lake*, shows the general economic conditions of the families being helped by that institution. Fifty families are here taken in the order in which they stood upon the records, and most of them come from the Stock Yard district. Although the institution of outdoor relief has now come to appear a very uneconomical and ineffective method of dealing with economic distress, the table, nevertheless, gives some valuable clues as to the economic status and conditions of life of the district in its more abnormal aspects. The number of individuals constituting these 50 families is 243. The number of men is 35; the number of women, 49; the number of children is 169. The average age of the men is 42 years; the average age of the women, 34 years; the average number of children per family is 3.6. Of nationalities, the Irish constitute the highest number, the Americans second, Germans third, Scandinavians fourth, Slavs fifth. Of occupations, day laborers furnish the highest number, more than twice as many as any other. Twelve of the occupations come under the head of washing. The average amount of rent paid is \$5.27 per month. The average length of time in which outdoor relief had been received was nearly one year at various times. The average number of months in the year each recipient of the relief was habitually idle was 3.5. Sixteen out of the fifty cases were said to be occasioned by sickness; thirty-two families were made up of married couples. There were six cases of desertion, and eleven cases of widowhood and widowerhood. The average length of time which the applicants had been in the country (and this includes usually the same time in the city) was fourteen years.<sup>1</sup>

The following notes from the diary and budgets of a typical manual laboring man's family of the Stock Yard district are interesting from many points of view, but especially as bearing upon the economic conditions of the locality. The family

<sup>1</sup> For further, more significant observations refer to the table.

TABLE IX.

STATISTICS OF DESTITUTION COVERING FIFTY REPRESENTATIVE CASES, CHIEFLY FROM THE STOCK YARD DISTRICT OF CHICAGO (compiled from the records of the county agent for the Town of Lake in 1896).

	Man's Age.	Woman's Age.	Number of Children.	NATIONALITIES.						OCCUPATIONS.					Amount of Rent.	Time Received Charity by Years.	Months Breadwinner is Idle during the Year.	Widows X.	Widowers O.	Man Deserted X.	Woman Deserted O.	Married X.	Sickness X.	Time in City and Coun- try, by Years.
				American.	Irish.	German.	Scandinavian.	English.	Polish.	Miscellaneous.	Laborer.	Washing.	Mechanic.	Tradesman.										
1	35	35	2																					
2	35	35	2																					
3	35	35	2																					
4	35	35	2																					
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46	35	35	2																					
47	35	35	2																					
48	35	35	2																					
49	35	35	2																					
50	35	35	2																					

\* Average and percentage.

consists of the man and wife and six children. The man, whom we shall call John Smith, was born in 1856, and married his present wife in 1888. The wife was born in 1869. The children were born respectively in the years 1889, 1891, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1899. The family lives in a typical locality (back of the yards). The husband works in one of the large packing houses. The children were all baptized into the Catholic church when quite young. The two older children have always attended the parochial school. The family, however, does not attend church very much. The husband is somewhat opposed to the Catholic church, partly on account of the "demands of the priest for money." And in general he tells his wife that people go to church to show their clothes, and that he and his wife are as good as those who go regularly. The wife says that she has been to church only once in three years—when there was a "mission." She says that she went to church a great deal when she was young, and will go again when she is old, because then she will be afraid she is going to die. Now she thinks she ought to be allowed to stay at home a few years while her children are small. A few weeks later the report runs as follows: The wife had been to church, had attended confession, and had "got a good scolding." She had been excommunicated for failing to do her Easter duties, she says. The more particularly economic aspects of the family's condition for 1898, 1899, and 1900 are as follows: In the summer of 1898 Mr. Smith had no work for three months, and the family consequently came into sore need. Day after day he tramped the city from one end to the other, but without avail. Physically he is an able-bodied man, and is sober and faithful. But these facts were of no avail to him. In September, 1898, he secured again his work in the yards, which place he kept for a year, with the exception of only two weeks in the following August. The work, however, was very irregular as regards time, varying from four or five hours a day to thirteen or fourteen. The wages received were twenty cents an hour. In September and the first of October, 1899, work was slack; then for four weeks Mr. Smith worked over-time, until eight or nine o'clock in the evening, making twelve or thirteen





PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE PACKING HOUSES, FROM ASHLAND AVENUE (ON THE LEFT).

dollars a week. He is always glad to work over-time, but the work tells severely on his nerves and hands. After November 1 work became slack again, then over-time once more about the middle of the month. Mr. Smith estimates that he averages about eight dollars a week for the entire year, or about \$416 annual income; and this, he says, is better than a good many others do. In 1900 Mr. Smith was out of work six weeks in August and September. He expected to be out only two weeks, but at the end of that time the company kept his department closed two weeks longer, saying that they would start up again at the end of that time, but did not do so for two additional weeks. Mr. Smith said that he would have gotten permanent work elsewhere, but that if he did so he believed that he could never again work for the firm at the yards, however much he might need to. In the fall of 1900 he seemed to be much distressed over the short hours of work, only five or six per day, since his lack of employment in the summer had thrown the family into debt. In February, 1901, Mrs. Smith fell ill, which necessitated doctor's bills. In March Mr. Smith was averaging seven dollars or less per week, and on March 11 the rooms where Mrs. Smith was still ill were cold. She was trying to economize in fuel, making a quarter of a ton of coal last two weeks instead of one. The domicile is in the four rear rooms of a first-story flat; the rent per month during the winter of 1900-1901 was \$4;<sup>1</sup> fuel per week cost \$2.50; coal was bought by the quarter ton at \$1.75; kerosene per week averaged 12 cents; groceries, \$3; newspapers, 11 cents.

SECTION IX. THE EDUCATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE STOCK YARD COMMUNITY.

There are comparatively few members of this community \* who can neither read nor write. But in much that constitutes true education—the ability to master one's self and direct one's career by clear knowledge and firm control of the conditions of one's environment—in this the people of this community are, in very large measure, deplorably deficient. Among the means

<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps a little lower than the average for the community.

for supplying this knowledge and self-control the public schools must be given the first place. As one rides through the district, these school buildings, each with its United States flag flying above it, are an inspiring sight, standing as grand outposts and recruiting stations for the army of cultured and patriotic citizens of the future. The corps of devoted men and women assembled as teachers in these schools is an honor to the nation and an earnest of the advances in the suppression of indolence and vice, and the cultivation of intelligence and virtue, which may be looked for in the future. Table No. X gives the comparative public-school statistics of the Stock Yard and Hyde Park districts of Chicago for the half-year up to March 29, 1901 (140 days). The table shows that the distribution of schools is pretty fairly made, and the opportunities for education are reasonably well equalized. The total population of school age in the Stock Yard district, according to the school census of 1900, is 37,884—that is, between the ages of six and twenty-one. Those from six to fourteen number 21,861, and those from fourteen to twenty-one number 16,023. The former period is, of course, the usual public-school period for the great majority of people. The total population of school age in the Hyde Park district is 21,289, the number between six and fourteen being 10,994, and the number between fourteen and twenty-one being 10,295.<sup>1</sup> The proportion of children of legal school age between the two districts, Hyde Park and the Stock Yards, is thus approximately 1:2. In the Hyde Park district, aside from the high schools, there are ten public schools, without counting branches. In the Stock Yard district there are fifteen. The total number of teachers in the former district is 208; the total number in the latter, 347. The average monthly salaries run about the same, being about eighty and seventy-eight dollars, respectively. The schools of the Hyde Park district have a capacity of a little over 7,000; those of the Stock Yard district, about 14,000. The average daily attendance in the Hyde Park

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that the proportion of young children to all children in the Stock Yard district is much larger than is the case in Hyde Park.





district is a little over 7,000, and in the Stock Yard district about 13,500. Of those in the Hyde Park district about 1,100 are in the first grade and nearly 600 in the eighth grade, while in the Stock Yard district about 3,500 are in the first grade, and only about 450 in the eighth grade, showing that in the latter community a very large proportion of the children drop out of school to begin work before they have finished their course. In regard to the elective studies of music, drawing, manual training, cooking, and sewing, it is interesting to note that, while approximately the total membership of the public schools elect the first two subjects, a larger proportion in the Hyde Park district elect manual training than in the Stock Yard district, a very much larger proportion in the Hyde Park district elect cooking (only fifty-nine pupils in the Stock Yard district taking the subject), and yet a much smaller proportion in the Hyde Park district elect sewing. (The people of the yards are thus apparently not nearly so well aware of the value of manual training and of good cooking as are those in Hyde Park, or, if they demand these disciplines, the facilities have not been supplied.) The monthly cost of tuition per pupil in average daily attendance in the Hyde Park district is \$2.30; in the Stock Yard district, \$2.25. The average number of pupils in daily attendance per teacher in the Hyde Park district is a little more than thirty-four, while the average number per teacher in the other district is nearly thirty-eight. The best teaching cannot be done with classes so large.

Although the accompanying table of statistics is somewhat extensive and detailed, yet it does not furnish some of the most vital facts of the educational situation. Data for these facts were not on hand at the office of the school board, nor yet in any public reports. Special schedules, therefore, had to be prepared and mailed to the principals of the schools to secure this additional information. Owing to the lack of records and the difficulty of estimation, the data asked for past years in order to furnish some clue as to certain lines of progress in the schools could not be obtained. With the aid of this schedule, however, and material



from the school census and other reports,<sup>1</sup> the accompanying Table No. XI was made up:

TABLE XI.  
COMPARATIVE SCHOOL STATISTICS OF STOCK YARD AND HYDE PARK DISTRICTS OF CHICAGO IN 1900.

	Hyde Park District.	Stock Yard District.	Proportion between the Two Districts.
1. Total population of school age (6-21 years). . .	21,289	37,884	1:1.77
2. Total population of grammar and primary age (6-14) . . . . .	10,994	21,861	1:2
3. Total average daily attendance in all public schools . . . . .	7,770	13,711	1:1.76+
4. Total average daily attendance in grammar and primary grades . . . . .	7,170	13,449	1:1.87+
5. Total average daily attendance in parochial schools . . . . .	1,532	4,995	1:3.26+
6. Total average daily attendance in private schools . . . . .	1,203	....	1:0
7. Percentage of grammar and primary age in the grades . . . . .	65+	61+	1: .93+
8. Percentage of total school population in average daily attendance in public schools . . . . .	36+	36+	1:1
9. Percentage of total school population in average daily attendance in parochial schools . . . . .	7.2+	13.1+	1:1.82-
10. Percentage of total school population in average daily attendance in private schools . . . . .	5.6+	....	1:0
11. Percentage of total school population in average daily attendance in all schools . . . . .	49+ *	49+ *	1:1 *
12. Percentage of primary and grammar pupils in first, fourth, and eighth grades . . . . .	12.5-11.1-8.3	17.9-8.5-3.6	1:1.3-1:1.75-
13. Average ages of primary and grammar pupils in first, fourth, and eighth grades . . . . .	6.4-10-14.1	6.8-10.6-14.6	1:1.43
14. Average length of service of public school teachers . . . . .	10 years	10 years, 9 mos.	1:1+
15. Average percentage of teachers with normal certificates . . . . .	44	58+	1:1.30
16. Average percentage of teachers with high-school diplomas . . . . .	75	76+	1:1+
17. Average percentage of teachers with college diplomas . . . . .	10	10+	1:1
18. Number of schools giving data on last five items . . . . .	9	5	

\* This is exclusive of art, business, professional schools, colleges, etc., which, if included, would throw the percentage in favor of Hyde Park.

Only the proportions between the two contrasted districts need be given here, the Hyde Park district being taken throughout as the standard and indicated by a single unit. The proportion of total population in the two districts (that is, of children six to twenty-one years old) is as 1:1.77; the total population of primary and grammar age (that is, children six to fourteen years old) is as 1:2; the total average daily attendance in all the public schools is represented by the proportion 1:1.76; the proportion of total average daily attendance in the grammar and

<sup>1</sup> Information regarding the number of pupils in parochial schools was obtained through special schedules and personal interviews from the pastors of the churches.

primary grades is 1:1.87; the total average daily attendance in the parochial schools is as 1:3.26; the average daily attendance in the private schools would be represented by the proportion 1:0, there being no private schools in the Stock Yard district, as far as ascertained. The per cents. of pupils of grammar and primary age in the grades would be represented by the proportion 1:.93; the proportion of the per cents. of total school population in daily average attendance in the public schools is the same for both districts; the proportion of the per cents. of total school population in the parochial schools is as 1:1.82; the per cent. of total school population in all the schools is 49 for both districts.<sup>1</sup> The per cents. of primary and grammar pupils respectively in the first, fourth, and eighth grades, as compared between the two districts, would be as follows: proportion of first graders, 1:1.3; proportion of fourth graders, 1:.75; proportion of eighth graders, 1:.43. This shows how much larger a proportion of the children of the Stock Yard district drop out of school before the ordinary public-school course is finished than of the children of the Hyde Park district. The proportions between the average ages in these same grades are the same for both districts, with a slight rise of the age in the case of the Stock Yard district. The respective ages for the first, fourth, and eighth grades are about six, ten, and fourteen years. In the Stock Yard district, it will be noted, nearly 18 per cent. of all children of primary and grammar age are to be found in the first grade, to 12½ per cent. in the Hyde Park district; while only 3½ per cent. of these children in the Stock Yard district are found in the eighth grade, to more than 8 per cent. in the same grade in the Hyde Park district. The significant fact here illustrated is that the vast majority of children in both districts, but much more especially in the Stock Yard district, leave school forever before the age of fourteen. Returns from the special schedules sent to the principals of these two districts were received from nine schools in the Hyde Park district and five

<sup>1</sup> Professional school, art school, business college records, etc., are here omitted. If they were included, the per cent. of school attendance would probably be much more heavily in favor of Hyde Park.

schools in the Stock Yard district. From these returns it appears that the average length of service of public-school teachers is about ten years for both districts—perhaps a little more for the Stock Yard district. The average per cent. of teachers with high-school diplomas is about 75 for both districts; the average per cent. of teachers with normal certificates is about 44 for the Hyde Park district and 58 for the Stock Yard district; and the average per cent. of teachers with college diplomas is 10 for both districts. A significant item is that the per cent. of total school population in average daily attendance in the public schools for the whole territory studied is 36.

#### SECTION X. THE ÆSTHETIC INTERESTS OF THE STOCK YARD COMMUNITY.

Art is the expression, by means of outward movements and symbols, of the conscious values of life. Looked at in this way, art is seen to be a thing not merely of certain technical acquirements, but of the whole round of social activities. It comes out in dress, in manners, in speech, as well as in all special accomplishments. The æsthetic interests, therefore, may be read in the obvious and ordinary expressions of daily life. For example, while the artistic appreciation of the people in the Hyde Park district manifests itself in green lawns, beautiful homes, more or less elegant dress, and thousands of special places of æsthetic recreation and inspiration, the more suppressed artistic aspirations of the people in the Stock Yard district struggle to manifest themselves amid squalid and unlovely surroundings, in more or less boorish manners, dress, architecture, and ornaments. This is, indeed, not to say that many people in the latter district do not have really fine artistic tastes, but it is emphatically to say that the conditions are almost wholly against the development of such tastes. In this district, among the great mass of the people, the joyous and buoyant ideality of art is stamped out. It is, indeed, not dead, but waits an arousing touch. The whole district lacks the general diffusion among the people of art galleries, parks, noble buildings, statuary, and the fine examples of cultivated dress and bearing, which go to make up

the necessary elements of art in every high civilization. At this point, once more, some social endeavors like the University of Chicago Settlement, with their musical courses, art exhibitions, cheerful rooms, and fine ideals, are doing, in the most effective way possible under the present circumstances, a much-needed work. It is not expected in this that an artistic revolution involving a change of age-long racial customs and views may be



THE SMOKE NOISANCE AROUND "PACKING TOWN."

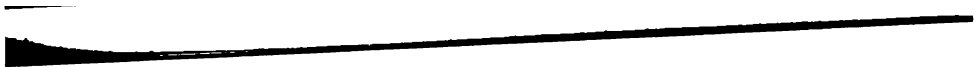
accomplished in a day; but, as a matter of fact, it is surprising to see how latent æsthetic interests of people in these dreary, cramped circumstances will respond to the appeals of a simple, fine, and truly great art. Some of the classes and some of the individual examples at the settlement illustrate this fact.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A teacher of English literature from the University of Chicago was recently reading the well-known passage from Lowell beginning, "What is so rare as a day in June?" to a club of working-women at the settlement, who had lived most of their lives in this unlovely district. Only one woman seemed to be able to call up the images with which to realize and enjoy the poem; the others listened in stolid indifference. Of this woman the teacher asked: "Is there anything beautiful near your home?" "O, yes!" she replied, "there are three vacant lots, an' you can't speak for the colors in 'em." In surprise the teacher asked: "Is there anything else?" The woman reflected. "Yes," she said, "there's a line of trees against the horizon — an' then there's all the sky." And most of these people, if they desired to, could scarcely visit the parks even once a year, because they are so far away — and the purses are so nearly empty.



SECTION XII. THE MORAL, RELIGIOUS, AND POLITICAL INTERESTS  
OF THE STOCK YARD COMMUNITY.

Table XII, of comparative criminal statistics of the Stock Yard and Hyde Park districts, compiled with the generous assistance of the police officials from the records of the police department, reveals some interesting facts. The whole territory studied from the lake to Western avenue is covered pretty accurately by the fourth and eighth police districts of the city. The boundaries of the former district, comprising the tenth and eleventh precincts, are Thirty-ninth street, Lake Michigan, Sixtieth street to State, north to Fifty-fifth street, and on the west the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway tracks. It will be seen that this district covers approximately the Hyde Park district as indicated in the map—that part of the police district lying outside not being of very particular significance for this study. The boundaries of the eighth police district, comprising the nineteenth and twentieth precincts, are Thirty-ninth street, the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway tracks, and on the west certain lines including an irregular and insignificant territory west of Western boulevard. The problem, therefore, of making the statistics from these two police divisions cover respectively the Hyde Park and Stock Yard districts, which we have chosen for comparison, consists in determining that portion of the statistics relating to the strip of the fourth district lying between State street and the Rock Island tracks, and adding that portion to the statistics for the eighth police district. This method gives the following results, as indicated in the table: In the Hyde Park district the total number of arrests in 1890 was 1,440; in the Stock Yard district for the same year, 6,160; in the Hyde Park district in 1895, 1,051; in the Stock Yard district the same year, 5,377; in the Hyde Park district in 1900, 845; and in the Stock Yard district the same year, 5,084. From this two pertinent facts are at once apparent: first, that the number of arrests in the Stock Yard district is vastly greater than that in the Hyde Park district, even in proportion to the total population; and, second, that the absolute number of arrests has been decreasing during the ten years







much more rapidly in the Hyde Park than in the Stock Yard district. The table also shows the chief charges against the arrested in part by ten-year periods; the occupations, nationalities, and age of the arrested; disposition of cases, amount of fines; number of fires attended; the number of sick, injured, and killed attended; the total number of females arrested, the number of young girls arrested, the number of females sent to the appropriate institutions, the number of females fined and released; total number of lodgers at the station during the ten years, and the total number of meals given to lodgers during the ten years. The details of this showing can best be obtained by a scrutiny of the table itself. A few cautions and observations, however, ought to be made at this point. This table and the map giving the distribution of criminality would appear to make out that the Stock Yard district is a much more desperately criminal locality than the Hyde Park district. Such, however, is not strictly the case; and for two reasons. In the first place, the kinds of criminality practiced in the two districts are in general different. In the Hyde Park district the mere violation of city ordinances by the residents is an uncommon occurrence. And these offenses easily bring about arrest. But other criminal practices, or, at any rate, doubtful practices, not directly reached by the law, such as occur in all kinds of large business transactions and in social intercourse—practices which may, in fact, be more dangerous to the community than violations of ordinances and disorderly conduct—are not readily subject to arrest. The criminality prevalent in the Stock Yard district is not of the violent or extremely serious type, as a rule, but consists largely in disorderly conduct and violations of the ordinances, with which the people, being largely of foreign birth, are not always well acquainted. In the second place, criminality itself, especially that usually expressed by the number of arrests, is coming to be seen to be, not a matter of innate viciousness, but more a matter of depressing surroundings, early neglect, poor health, economic difficulty, and general personal weakness. This is especially emphasized by the fact, true in almost all parts of the city, that the number of arrests for all classes of crimes varies

with the seasons and months of the year, the least number of arrests and crimes committed occurring in November and December and the largest number in July and August—the hot and dusty months, when the mortality is also the greatest. After August, with the approach of the harvest and cool weather, the offenses decrease, and after December, with the approach once more of the troublesome season, the offenses increase again. (Employment at the yards is good in the winter and slack in the summer.)

These facts would indicate that any effective method of improving the criminal conditions of such a district as that of the Stock Yards must be based, not upon merely suppressive or wholesale punitive principles, but upon principles looking to the reformation of the whole sanitary, economic, and cultural conditions of the situation.

As indicated by the police captains, the more troublesome localities of their districts lie in the neighborhood of the railroad tracks between State street and Halsted street, particularly in the northerly and eastern portions of this section, and in the neighborhood of the Stock Yards between Morgan street and Western avenue. These localities, it will be readily observed, are those in which the most saloons are located, and where the most poverty, bad sanitation, and child mortality occur.

In connection with the criminal aspects of this district, a study of the church statistics of the locality becomes more especially interesting. No general information upon all of the churches of these two districts being available in any convenient form, a special schedule had to be prepared and sent to each of the churches. About one-fourth of the pastors to whom the schedules were sent voluntarily filled and returned them; the others had to be interviewed personally. This, because of lack of any adequate census or complete enumeration of the churches, became a difficult matter, but forty-four churches in the territory between the lake and Western avenue are represented, and it is believed that this will be almost a complete list. The accompanying Table No. XIII gives the result of this investigation comparatively by districts and also by classes of churches, namely, the Protestant

TABLE XIII.  
COMPARATIVE CHURCH STATISTICS OF HYDE PARK AND STOCK YARD DISTRICTS OF CHICAGO, IN APRIL, 1901.

	HYDE PARK DISTRICT. TOTAL POPULATION IN 1900 = 64,730.				STOCK YARD DISTRICT. TOTAL POPULATION IN 1900 = 120,453.			
	Protestant (except Lutheran).	Roman Catholic.	Lutheran.	All Churches.	Protestant (except Lutheran).	Roman Catholic.	Lutheran.	All Churches.
1. Number of churches.....	19	3	1	23	7	8	6	21
2. Number of members { total.....	10,255	5,200	55	15,510	1,347	13,000	3,075	17,415
3. Per cent. of total population in churches.....	539.76	1,733.33	55	674.35	191.42	1857.14	512.50	972.14
4. Average per cent. of men members.....	15.8%	8%	.08%	23.4%	1.01%	10.79%	2.55%	14.35%
5. Average per cent. of manual laboring members.....	32.10%	4%	.38%	33.65%	27.85%	39.75%	30.50%	33.14%
6. Value of church property { total.....	11.21%	23.33%	63%	15.13%	52.52%	73.16%	70%	61.85%
7. Average number hours per week in public use.....	\$1,232,000.00	\$590,000.00	.....	\$1,822,000.00	\$90,100.00	\$780,000.00	\$108,000.00	\$984,150.00
8. Expense in 1900 { average per church.....	\$64,842.10	\$196,666.60	.....	\$79,217.38	\$12,728.57	\$97,500.00	\$18,000.00	\$46,861.90
9. Contributions to charities, { average per member.....	14.78	80	3	\$117.48	\$71.71	\$60.00	\$25.12	\$56.51
10. Average per cent. of charity for local (Chicago) use.....	\$116,500.00	\$43,000.00	\$750.00	\$160,250.00	\$11,450.00	\$30,000.00	\$20,200.00	\$70,650.00
11. Number of children in parochial schools.....	\$6,131.57	\$14,333.33	\$752.00	\$16,957.39	\$1,635.71	\$4,875.00	\$3,666.66	\$23,364.28
12. Number of pastors favorable to philanthropic federation.....	\$11.36	\$8.46	\$13.63	\$10.33	28.54	\$3.00	\$6.56	\$4.62
	\$48,175.00	\$1,700.00	\$75.00	\$49,050.00	\$1,219.00	\$2,500.00	\$2,000.00	\$5,719.00
	\$2,535.52	\$506.00	\$75.00	\$2,171.73	\$174.14	\$312.50	\$333.33	\$272.33
	\$4.69	\$0.32	\$1.36	\$3.22	20.90	\$0.19	\$0.65	\$0.35
	48.68%	95%	.....	52.84%	27.85%	74.12%	54.16%	53%
	18	2,050	?	2,050	5	3,120	970	4,090
	.....	.....	.....	18+?	.....	.....	1	6+?

excepting the Lutheran, the Roman Catholic, and the Lutheran. This classification of churches was made because of certain very essential differences in ideals and methods of organization of these three types. For example, in estimating the number of members, the Protestant<sup>\*</sup> churches consider only those to be members who, as individuals, personally accede to the various fundamental church doctrines, give their names to the church membership, and attend with some degree of regularity. The Roman Catholic churches estimate their members by families, as do also the Lutheran churches, and, if baptized in infancy, although perhaps scarcely ever attending a service, a nominally Catholic family is likely to be counted *in toto* as always members of the church. This one distinction alone necessitated a careful editing of the data received from these churches, and, in the case of the Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches, in order to reduce the membership to more nearly the Protestant basis, the number of families given was simply multiplied by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or 2, according to the locality, instead of by 3 for Hyde Park, or 5 for the Stock Yard district, as in an ordinary census. With this modification, the following important differences between the two districts become evident in the table: In the Hyde Park district out of twenty-three churches, nineteen are Protestant, three Roman Catholic, and one Lutheran. In the Stock Yard district the numbers are more evenly divided: out of twenty-one churches seven being Protestant, eight Catholic, and six Lutheran. The difference in the size of membership, however, is somewhat notable. In the Hyde Park district the total number of Protestant members in the nineteen churches is 10,225; in the three Roman Catholic churches, 5,200; the average for the former being about 540 members and the average for the latter more than 1,700 members. In the Stock Yard district the Protestant churches are comparatively weak, the average membership for the seven being about 190, while the average membership for the Roman Catholic churches is more than 1,800, and the average for the Lutheran churches a little more than 500. The

<sup>\*</sup> Of course, our term should strictly be "other Protestant." We do not mean to imply that the Lutherans are not Protestants.



average per cent. of men in the membership of the churches is about 33 for both districts; the average per cent. being uniformly higher in the case of the Catholic churches. The average per cent. of manual-laboring members in the Hyde Park district is a little over 15 to nearly 66 in the Stock Yard district; the average for the Protestant churches in the two districts being respectively 11 and 52, in round numbers, to 23 and 73 in the Catholic churches. Nearly \$2,000,000 are invested in church property in the Hyde Park district, to about \$1,000,000 in the Stock Yard district. The average values for Protestant churches in the two districts are respectively about \$65,000 to \$14,000, while the average values for Roman Catholic churches are about \$197,000 to \$98,000. The Lutheran churches in the Stock Yard district average about \$18,000.<sup>1</sup> These properties are, on the whole, more economically and continuously used by the Catholic churches than by any other. The average numbers of hours per week in public use are, for Protestant churches, respectively about fifteen and eleven, to eighty in both districts for the Catholic churches; the Lutherans averaging a little more than five hours per week, aside from their schools. The comparative figures for the average running expenses of Protestant churches would be about \$6,000 in Hyde Park to \$1,600 near the yards; the comparative figures for Catholic churches being \$14,000 to \$4,800; \$3,600 representing the average annual expense for Lutherans. The comparative figures for the average annual contributions for charities and missions between the two districts would be, for Protestant churches, about \$2,500 in Hyde Park, to \$175 in the other locality; and for Catholic churches about \$560 to \$300; the average for the Lutherans being about the same as that for the Catholics. In the Catholic churches a much larger proportion of these contributions is used for local purposes than is the case among the other churches. The Hyde Park Protestant churches use nearly one-half of their contributions of this kind for Chicago work. Of the pastors favorable to the plan of philanthropic federation, suggested in the special

<sup>1</sup> In the case of the Catholic and Lutheran churches this includes parochial-school property.



schedule, as similar to that in operation in New York, almost all of those unequivocally in favor of it are in the Protestant churches—eighteen out of the nineteen Hyde Park Protestant pastors being distinctly in sympathy with it.

A few observations based upon this showing may not be out of place. It appears that in the Hyde Park district the total number of regular church members is about one-fourth of the total population, while in the Stock Yard district the total number of church members is scarcely one-seventh of the total population. Again, it is evident that in the Hyde Park district the Protestant churches are very strong, while the Catholic and Lutheran churches are relatively weak. In the Stock Yard district, on the other hand, the Catholic and Lutheran churches are very strong, especially the former, and the Protestant churches are relatively very weak. An interesting question at this point would be why it is that in the district of greatest wealth, culture, general intelligence, and dominating public control the Protestant churches should find their best field of activity, while in the district of relative poverty, ignorance, and backwardness of social conditions the Catholic churches especially should find their field of most effective work.

Regarding the general political situation in this district not very much of particular importance can be said at this point. Of course, there is here represented the usual political machine in both parties, with the ward bosses and their trained companies of followers. Some injustices, doubtless, and some benefits under the present conditions result from these organizations. For the study in hand any comparison of the relative strength of the two chief parties, Republican and Democratic, in these districts, would not have much significance, for the reason that these parties, even in municipal life, are practically guided and animated only by national issues and principles, instead of by local questions, of pressing moment to anybody besides the politicians.

GRAPHIC COMPARISON OF HYDE PARK AND STOCK YARD DISTRICTS OF CHICAGO.

CLASS OF ITEMS	STATISTICAL ITEMS.	HYDE PARK ABSOLUTE FIGURE	RELATIVE FIGURE	STOCK YARD ABSOLUTE FIGURE	RELATIVE FIGURE
POPULATION AND RACE	1. POPULATION IN 1874	92,801	1	91,374	1
	2. POPULATION IN 1900	84,730	1	120,452	1.42
	3. % OF AMERICANS IN 1886	60%	1	49%	.82
	4. % OF FOREIGNERS IN 1892	40%	1	51%	1.28
	5. PROPORTION OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 TO TOTAL POPULATION IN 1894	8.1%	1	16.2%	2.00
	6. PROPORTION OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 TO TOTAL POPULATION IN 1900	11.6%	1	13.6%	1.17
HEALTH AND MORTALITY	7. TOTAL NUMBER OF DEATHS IN 1886	487	1	1,492	3.06
	8. TOTAL NUMBER OF DEATHS IN 1900	774	1	1,492	1.93
	9. GENERAL DEATH RATE PER 1000 OF THE POPULATION IN 1874	5.25	1	16.33	3.13
	10. GENERAL DEATH RATE PER 1000 OF THE POPULATION IN 1900	9.12	1	12.31	1.35
	11. TOTAL NUMBER OF DEATHS OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 IN 1874	124	1	337	2.72
	12. TOTAL NUMBER OF DEATHS OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 IN 1900	194	1	600	3.09
	13. DEATH RATE OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1000 CHILDREN OF POPULATION UNDER 5 IN 1874	12.82	1	40.84	3.18
	14. DEATH RATE OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1000 CHILDREN OF POPULATION UNDER 5 IN 1900	20.0	1	24.74	1.24
	15. NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN ECONOMIC DISTRESS REGISTERED IN BUREAU OF CHARITIES DURING 1897	98	1	1,726	17.51
	16. NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN ECONOMIC DISTRESS REGISTERED IN BUREAU OF CHARITIES DURING 1900	106	1	1,433	13.52
ECONOMIC STANDING	17. (PROBABLE) AVERAGE MONTHLY RENT PER FAMILY IN 1900	\$2.50	1	\$10.00	4.00
	18. (PROBABLE) AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME PER FAMILY IN 1900	\$2,500	1	\$400	.16
	19. (PROBABLE) AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME PER FAMILY IN 1900	\$2,500	1	\$400	.16
SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION	20. TOTAL POPULATION OF SCHOOL AGE (5 TO 17 YEARS) IN 1900	21,224	1	27,924	1.32
	21. TOTAL SEATING CAPACITY OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN 1901	9,178	1	18,924	2.06
	22. PROPORTION OF TOTAL SCHOOL POPULATION IN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS IN 1900	3.2%	1	18.1%	5.66
	23. PROPORTION OF TOTAL SCHOOL POPULATION IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN 1900	5.6%	1	0%	0
	24. PROPORTION OF PRIMARY AND GRAMMAR GRADE PUPILS OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN 15 <sup>TH</sup> GRADE IN 1900	18.8%	1	17.1%	.91
	25. PROPORTION OF PRIMARY AND GRAMMAR GRADE PUPILS OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN 12 <sup>TH</sup> GRADE IN 1900	9.3%	1	3.0%	.32
CRIMINALITY	26. PROPORTION OF TOTAL SCHOOL POPULATION (KIDULTERAN) IN SCHOOLS IN 1900	25%	1	21%	.84
	27. TOTAL NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN 1880	1,442	1	6,140	4.26
	28. TOTAL NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN 1900	846	1	3,884	4.59
	29. NUMBER OF ARRESTS PER 1000 OF THE POPULATION IN 1880	1.56	1	1.02	.65
SALOONS AND DRINK HABITS	30. NUMBER OF ARRESTS PER 1000 OF THE POPULATION IN 1900	1.0	1	.42	.42
	31. NUMBER OF SALOONS IN THE DISTRICT IN 1900	26	1	500	19.23
	32. NUMBER OF SALOONS PER 1000 OF THE POPULATION IN 1900	.3	1	9.15	30.5
	33. AMOUNT OF SALOON REVENUE TO THE CITY IN 1900	\$18,000	1	\$22,000	1.22
SALOONS AND DRINK HABITS	34. (PROBABLE) ANNUAL GROSS RECEIPTS OF SALOONS	\$18,000	1	\$22,000	1.22
	35. (PROBABLE) ANNUAL GROSS RECEIPTS OF SALOONS PER FAMILY OF THE POPULATION	\$1.00	1	\$2.00	2.00
	36. (PROBABLE) PROPORTION OF TOTAL ANNUAL INCOME PAID TO LOCAL SALOONS	.05%	1	.2%	.40
	37. PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION IN CHURCHES IN 1900	22.9%	1	19.1%	.83
CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS	38. PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION IN PROTESTANT CHURCHES (METHODIST) IN 1900	16.8%	1	1.01%	.06
	39. PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION IN ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN 1900	9%	1	16.74%	1.86
	40. PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION IN LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN 1900	3%	1	3.55%	1.18
	41. AVERAGE ANNUAL CHURCH CONTRIBUTION TO PHILANTHROPY PER CHURCH MEMBER	\$3.22	1	\$3.35	1.04

For taxation and revenue conditions *vide* appendix.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE RELATION OF THE CHICAGO STOCK YARDS TO THE LOCAL COMMUNITY.

THE modern labor problem, which is, in one aspect, the subject of this chapter, is much more than a question of dollars and cents. It is a question of making industry a thoroughly social function. By social function we mean a necessary elemental, human vocation, such as manufacture, art, or teaching, which, normally conducted, does not hamper, but reinforces, all other vocations. Does modern industry, as typically represented at the Chicago Stock Yards, fulfil this requirement? To answer this question in complete detail would necessarily carry us beyond the limit of this study. The purpose, however, here will be to indicate the point at which the current business methods tend to stunt the six elementary interests and to impede their normal functioning. We may then be in position to observe, at least in principle, what necessary methods of democratic reorganization must be and are being applied in industry. "And there is no need to beat about the bush in saying that democracy is not in reality what it is in name until it is industrial as well as civil and political."<sup>1</sup> The purpose of the chapter, then, is not merely to find fault (anybody can do that with any institutions), but to call special attention to the needs and possibilities of certain improvements to the business itself.<sup>2</sup>

We have presented thus far a statement of what the intrinsic nature of democracy is, and what the general relation of industry to democracy is. In chap. i we noted the immense growth and importance of industry at the Chicago Stock Yards. In

<sup>1</sup> JOHN DEWEY, *Ethics of Democracy*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> For valuable reference works upon the general subject of "industrial betterment" see: SHUEY, *Factory People and Their Employees*; GILMAN, *A Dividend to Labor*; TOLMAN, *Industrial Betterment*, a monograph of the American Social Science Association, November 16, 1900; *U. S. Labor Bulletin*, No. 31, for November, 1900; *Social Service*, the magazine of the League for Social Service, New York city.



chap. ii we have observed the chief features of the Stock Yard community and have noted the special conditions of social weakness and distress. We are now in a position to discuss the question of the influence of modern industry as here represented upon the elemental functions of democracy.

SECTION XII THE RELATION OF THE YARDS TO THE HEALTH OF THE COMMUNITY.

The health function, or health interest, expresses itself in the periodic performance during the day, by each individual, of certain acts directed especially to maintaining the energy and effective action of the body, such as eating, sleeping, bathing, toilet, and exercise. It is a mere truism that insufficient attention to these acts not only impairs health, but thereby makes impossible an adequate performance of any of the other social functions. The individual not performing the function of exercise normally, in the broad sense, cannot attend properly to any of the social or business or intellectual or artistic or devotional or political duties. But, furthermore, not only is the mere performance of the functions necessary, it is also necessary that the performance be in accordance with the degree of refinement demanded of the individual by the civilization in which he finds himself. The crude and slovenly performance of the exercise function may be sufficient to keep a Bushman or Plains Indian in the normal performance of his correspondingly crude and slovenly daily duties. But a citizen of an enlightened commonwealth, if he be a real citizen, and not merely an alien and an outcast, requires for the adequate performance of the tasks exacted from him, even in the attention to his bodily needs, a sociability of attendance, a wealth of appurtenances, a knowledge of methods, a beauty of surroundings, and a just regard by and for others, which the savage knows nothing about. According to the theory of democracy—the theory of an organic and prosperous society—all social functions must thus react into each social function, making it what it really is, an expression of the whole social life, and not of merely a part of it. Unless we wish to regard and maintain as savages and aliens

a part of our citizens, we must see to it that no institution or group of institutions shall be conducted on the principle that the health of any of its members shall be disregarded or ruthlessly impaired. Yet this has been, until within recent years, at any rate, the prevailing principle of modern business, simply as



MEN'S LOCKERS, LAVATORY, AND BATH.  
(Tin-Can Department, Sherwin-Williams Co.)

"business." It is safe to say that, unchecked by law and stern public sentiment, the tendency of the blind principle of hostile competition in business would so lengthen working hours, reduce wages, limit air and light, and employ women and children, as to cause a retrograde movement toward a barbarous

stage of society among the wage-workers, as is amply illustrated in English industrial history.<sup>1</sup> Undue emphasis upon production for its own sake—that is, solely for the sake of profits to be productively reinvested—becomes a menace to all the other social functions by limiting their influence chiefly to a small favored property class, and considering the rest as largely aliens. Good employers, it is worth noting, are beginning to recognize this truth, and in many parts of the world are socializing their industries by the introduction of lunch-rooms, toilet facilities, baths, sanitary ventilation, and many similar health accommodations for the wage-workers; and this on the grounds, not of charity, but of justice and business prudence.<sup>2</sup> This movement, which must ultimately develop, not on the grounds of paternalism,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. TOYNBEE, *The Industrial Revolution*, pp. 32 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For specific instances, among many others, may be mentioned the Sherwin-Williams Co., of Cleveland, O.; Walker & Pratt Manufacturing Co., of Boston, Mass.; the Ferris Bros., of Newark, N. J.; J. H. Williams & Co., of Brooklyn, N. Y. For others see TOLMAN, *loc. cit.*



but along the lines of true democracy, is, however, as yet, compared with its merits, but slowly finding favor in the business world.

The sanitary conditions at the Chicago Stock Yards are much improved over former years. With the introduction of refrigeration methods and the manufacture of by-products, many of the earlier and most glaring menaces to health in the packing industry have been abolished. But, as all candid persons familiar with the business will admit, there is certainly as much room for improvement here as in any other line of industry.

The south branch of the Chicago River, lying, as indicated on the map, just north and northwest of the Stock Yards, is

now, since the improvement of the drainage canal and the better utilization of waste in the yards, a much more wholesome place than formerly, and yet it is a fact still that small animals and fowls may sometimes make their way across the river upon its coating of filth and grease. The effects of such a condition upon the health of neighboring families may perhaps be imagined. Another conspicuous menace to the health of the community directly connected with the yards is the large dump for refuse from the stables and elsewhere which is located in the southern part of the yards.

Regarding more inconspicuous conditions of bad sanitation, more immediately connected with the packing houses themselves, are the provisions, or rather lack of provisions, for light, air, and general cleanliness. An abundant supply of sunlight is coming



A FACTORY EMERGENCY HOSPITAL.  
(H. J. Heinz Co.)



to be recognized by all scientific experts to be one of the most powerful preventives of disease-bearing germs and one of the most powerful promoters of cheerfulness and positive good health. It is not too much to say, however, that a large proportion of the workmen at the yards are compelled to labor in



GIRLS' RECREATION ROOM.  
(H. J. Heinz Co.)

cold, dark, damp passage-ways which scarcely ever see the glare of full sunlight. If employment at a given station be considered the legitimate life-occupation of any one person, it must be conceded that such conditions,

tending inevitably to dispiritedness and ill-health, must be remedied, if democracy in industry is to be anything more than a name.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the fact that the nature of the business makes necessary, especially in hot weather, an almost stifling volume of steam and overpowering odors in some departments, entirely inadequate provision is made, where the common workmen are employed, for ventilation, heating in winter, and cooling in summer. By only a slight modification of existing apparatus, the insufferably hot days of August in the killing-rooms could be made much more tolerable by an introduction of some of the refrigeration pipes in a current of air operated by fans.

<sup>1</sup> For generally good conditions in this respect, especially for the free use of skylights and high ceilings, Nelson Morris & Co. deserve commendation. Armour & Co. also deserve particular credit for the recent introduction of brick floors into their killing departments. The old wooden blood-soaked floors in use in most of the houses are a serious menace to the health of the workmen. Brick, being porous, may not be the best substitute, but its introduction is a step in the right direction.

Regarding cleanliness in the packing plants, it should be said that very reasonable precautions are generally at present taken to insure a marketable condition of the goods; and with the immense volume of material to be handled, the nature of the help employed, and the general dirtiness of the locality, it is not an extremely easy matter to keep all parts of the establishments severely clean. It may be said from positive, first-hand knowledge, however, that the matter of cleanliness is not regulated very seriously from the standpoint of the health or well-being of the workmen, but very generally from the standpoint of profit, at the demand of the public consumer. The consumer is always ultimately the responsible party.

Regarding means of protection from machinery, steam, and injurious fumes, it may also be said that the packing houses do not look at the matter, in any considerable measure, from the standpoint of the workman, but rather from the standpoint of the stockholder and manager. For example, in the case of stuffing machines, the writer has seen a young girl thrusting her arm up to the elbow into a tube to arrange the meat, which a steam-driven piston rod plunging through the tube the next instant crowded into the can. Such careless methods of handling and running the machinery are not very uncommon, as has been repeatedly stated in the official reports of the Illinois state factory inspectors.<sup>1</sup> There is one department of the packing house that is especially avoided by almost all the workmen, namely, the bone and fertilizer house, where in hot weather the odors and irritating dust are almost overpowering. In one week during November, 1900, in one plant alone, 126 men were employed, and at the end of the week all but six had deserted—even in the face of extreme difficulty of securing work and maintaining a livelihood. The open vats and tanks in most of the large soap, oleo oil, butterine, and fertilizer houses are also places of annoyance and danger, where more than one man has lost his life by drowning or scalding.

Another element detrimental to the health of the workmen is the extreme strain of the work. This strain is brought about

<sup>1</sup> For 1895, pp. 11 and 12; and 1896, pp. 13 and 14.

by a process called "speeding up the gang." As will be noticed in the illustrations in chap. i, most of the materials in process of production are attached upon trolleys or other machinery which keeps them in motion and requires each man to handle his part as it passes. By the employment of certain experienced and especially favored hands to set the pace, by the offer of shorter days of labor at approximately the same wages, and then later a reduction of the wages to correspond with the resulting reduction in time, the amount of work finally wrenched from the workmen is sometimes almost incredible, as well as inhuman. But this policy of virtually ignoring the interests of the workmen is more and more coming to appear as uneconomical to the most far-sighted employers.

Another matter directly relative to the health of the workmen is that of a place and opportunity for noon luncheon. The writer has gone through every department of all of the principal houses at the yards, and has visited them each many times, and nowhere has he found a single positively wholesome, cheerful, and adequate provision made for a place in which the common workmen could assemble to eat their lunches. Most of them stand about the corners of the buildings, or sit in the stairways to eat, if they do not go to the saloons which cluster so thickly about the yards. On the institutional map shown in the preceding chapter it will be noted how densely the saloons are massed at the entrances and exits of the Stock Yards. In the block just west of the yards, between Fortieth and Forty-first streets, it will be seen that there are thirteen saloons on one side of the street, where only one or two buildings devoted to another purpose are located. And there were counted in a single half-hour (during which the workmen of the yards are given time to eat their luncheon), being brought out of one of these saloons on the corner of Forty-first street and Ashland avenue, 1,065 pails of beer. Special helpers to draw the beer are employed by some of these saloon-keepers at the noon hour. When the whistle blows for 12 o'clock there is a general rush from all departments through the long streets of the yards for these saloons. Of this rush, called in the language of the



locality "the noon can rush," a photograph was shown in chap. ii.<sup>1</sup>

Regarding medicinal and surgical aid given the sick and injured at the yards, some of the houses, notably that of Swift & Co., are beginning to organize their own medical departments and corps of attendants, whose services are free to the employees.



VIEW OF MEN'S DINING-ROOM.

(Auditorium Building, H. J. Heinz Co.)

This department which has recently been started at Swift & Co.'s plant is a thoroughly worthy enterprise, and is a step in the right direction. The writer has seen the excellent ambulances and appliances here used. The department was established ten months ago as an experiment, but it has come to stay. In the first eight months there were treated 2,371 original cases, 4,699 after-dressings, 802 medical cases, and 6,431 vaccinations, making a total of 14,303 cases. Of course, many of these are slight cuts, bruises, etc., which, while not serious, need attention, because frequently the injured person works in brine and other

<sup>1</sup> P. 304.

materials which would cause a small sore to fester. The other large packing houses at present generally subsidize the services of physicians outside of the yards for the benefit of their employees.

In spite of such worthy beginnings of betterment at the yards, however, many of the conditions of work are still desperately bad for the health of the employees. And perhaps the most serious aspect of this fact is not the immediate effect upon



AMBULANCE.  
(Swift & Co.)

the individuals themselves, but the more general effect upon the public agencies and efforts for the improvement of health throughout the community. By the bad sanitation and injury to health of large bodies of workmen in our modern industries, thus undoing in large measure the efforts of outside recuperative agencies, we have a condition of affairs in which our greatest institutions are working directly at cross-purposes with each other, with a consequent immense waste of time and effort and public funds, to say nothing of the actual productive loss to the community in the decreased vitality and efficiency of its workmen. For example, the institutions of the public baths and



health department sustained by the city, the organizations for good drainage, hospital service, the visiting nurses' efforts, the homes for incurables, besides the work of the Bureau of Associated Charities, the churches, and the police department—all of these public agencies, supported in the end by the people, have the burden of their work tremendously increased by the existence of the unhealthful conditions and methods allowed and employed in many of our greatest business establishments. If for no other reason than that of bringing into effective co-operation with each other the institutions of industry and of the promotion of public health, very decided steps should be taken, both by the employers and by the public at large, to see to it that no part of the people, however employed, are compelled to work under conditions which in the end threaten the health of the whole community. A plea for a truer democracy at this point is valid.

Now, with respect to certain practicable improvements at the yards in the direction of caring more properly for the health of the employees, the following are suggested:

1. More careful protection of machinery and dangerous places.
2. More thorough medical and surgical care of employees.
3. The furnishing of light, clean, and ample rooms in which the common workmen and -women may take pleasure in eating their luncheons.
4. Less severe strain of work, and, if possible, a greater regularity of work. (It has come to be a commonly accepted thing at the yards for workmen to be called out almost any hour of the day or night to work at the bidding of the boss, or lose their positions. The extreme irregularity of habits occasioned by this practice tells very severely upon the health of many of the men and girls.)
5. The introduction, by means of prism glass or other instrumentalities, of larger abundance of sunlight into the buildings.
6. The establishment of more adequate facilities for ventilation and regulation of the temperature for the workmen.
7. The improvement of toilet and lavatory facilities for the workmen.

8. The encouragement of the formation of athletic and similar clubs.

To these suggestions it will doubtless be objected at once that many of them involve an outlay of money, of time, and of attention which would bring no corresponding return to the interests of the company as a whole, and which no members of the company are prepared by experience to undertake. To the latter objection the answer is that the present essay is an effort to suggest tried and successful methods for accomplishing these things, and their practical application must anywhere be learned only by direct experiments. To the former objection we offer an answer in the words especially prepared for this study by a well-known, successful employer who has tested the methods suggested. His statement is as follows; it is inserted here in full, though containing some points which will be touched upon later:

TESTIMONY OF THE SHERWIN-WILLIAMS CO., OF CLEVELAND, O., PAINT MANUFACTURERS, ON THE SOCIALIZATION OF INDUSTRY IN SPITE OF ENVIRONMENT AND ADVERSE CONDITIONS.

The Sherwin-Williams Co. believes thoroughly that the work of industrial betterment along the most advanced lines can be applied profitably to any manufacturing establishment, of any kind, anywhere in the country.

We believe this because we have proved it in our own case under conditions more discouraging and unfavorable to the work than the average factory has to contend with.

Our Cleveland plant, where we have carried the work farthest, is located in one of the busiest, dirtiest, and most crowded sections of the city's downtown district. It is hemmed in by the dirty Cuyahoga river, railroad switch yards, closely built factories, and a busy, noisy, unattractive thoroughfare. The seventeen or eighteen buildings on the site are arranged to leave as much yard-room and as many air-shafts as possible, but they don't offer much opportunity for making anything but a factory atmosphere out of the surroundings. Every foot of space is at a premium—we are much overcrowded.

Besides these discouraging conditions, the nature of our product—paint—is such that its manufacture is antagonistic to the advanced methods of industrial betterment. The raw materials we handle would seem to oppose any attempt at improving the state of affairs. Few manufacturers have as many obstacles to encounter in this respect. We are also subject to keen competition that keeps our profit down, and out of our profits we pay the expenses of providing comforts and conveniences for the employees.

Yet in the face of these conditions we have found it perfectly feasible to carry on the work, and that it *pays* us—pays from the dollar-and-cents point of view as well as the altruistic. We find that we can increase the capacity of our factory, get more and better work out of our employees and out of our machinery. We find less friction between the departments, more enthusiasm, greater co-operation, less sickness; and, last but not least, we find we get a better product. To tell in detail the story of all we do to better our factory atmosphere would take too long, but I want at least to mention them all, so that you may see how far the work can be carried in spite of environment and adverse conditions.

*Cleanliness.*—The foundation upon which all our co-operative features rest is that of order and cleanliness. In putting it first we believe the first requisite of good sound health is taken care of in its proper place. The cleanliness extends not only to the floors and machinery of our workrooms, but to the employees as well, and in order to encourage it we have provided a number of large washrooms throughout the factory, including lavatories, shower baths, and lockers.

To provide a plentiful supply of clean towels we have our own steam laundry. Employees are encouraged in every way to use the shower baths and do so very freely. But in our dry-color department, in order to guard against lead-poisoning, it is compulsory, while as a further safeguard each man is provided with an entire clean change of clothing every day. The result of this caution is shown most strikingly in the facts that, where previously the average time a man cared to work for us in the dry-color department was about one month, he now stays as long as we want him, and that, where at least every other man was affected by the lead before, now not more than one in twenty is affected, and then generally only in cases where the man does not make proper use of the system.

*Lunch-rooms.*—Two floors in one of our buildings are used exclusively as lunch-rooms and kitchen. The factory men use one room; the girls, office force, and foremen, the other. The same fare is served in both rooms. The employees take turns in waiting on table. The kitchen is in charge of a colored chef who made himself famous in one of Cleveland's leading cafés. Either a soup or a stew, and tea and coffee, are served free every day, while the balance of a well-selected bill of fare is served at practically cost prices. The employees bring their own lunches and are served with the free hot dishes, or they may order their entire meal—and get a good one for an average of eight or ten cents. Whenever night work is necessary during the busy season, special dinners are served in the rooms at the expense of the company. The lunch-rooms are by no means self-supporting, but we could not be induced to discontinue them. There are also a lunch-room and kitchen in our box factory located some distance from our main plant.

*Benefit society.*—As far back as 1887 we organized an employees' sick and death benefit society, to which all employees of the company are eligible. It



has always been in a flourishing condition. The membership includes over 90 per cent. of the Cleveland factory employees and a very large per cent. of the entire staff.

*Rest-rooms.*—We have two rest-rooms for girls—one in the factory and one in the general office building. The rooms are not large, but are attractive and homelike, and the best we can do with our facilities.

*The club-room.*—A large part of one floor in the new building just completed has been made into a club-room for the factory employees. It is used for meetings and as a place of rest and recreation. It is decorated in a suitable manner, and is greatly appreciated by the employees.

*Library.*—In the club-room are located the library of the company and also a branch of the Cleveland Public Library—both well patronized by the employees.

*The "Chameleon."*—We publish a monthly magazine for the entire staff of the company. It is edited and printed in our own printing department, is open to contributions from all employees, and contains information, instruction, news, and illustrations about the business. It is one of our best-paying features.

*Convention and banquet.*—A convention of salesmen, officers, and managers is held for one week each year for the purpose of discussing the company's goods, outlining the policy of the company for the ensuing year, explaining the new advertising plans and methods, reviewing the work of the past year, and discussing all topics relating to the sale and manufacture of our paints and varnishes.

Some pleasure is of course mixed in with the business, not the least interesting of which is the annual banquet of all the Cleveland employees. For the past two years this banquet has been held at the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. A good menu is served, toasts and informal talks are given by both officers and employees, and music is provided. Similar banquets are also held at our various branches.

*Annual outing.*—Regularly every year for the past twenty-one years one day has been set aside for a general outing of all employees and their families. Transportation is furnished by the company to some one of the summer resorts near Cleveland—the place being chosen by a vote of the employees—and a good, old-fashioned basket picnic is held, with games and prize contests. Similar outings are held each year at most of our branches, in New York, Montreal, etc.

*Thanksgiving turkeys.*—Thanksgiving day has been observed for many years by presenting each employee with a basket containing a turkey and a quart of cranberries. In itself it seems a small thing, perhaps, but we believe it helps commemorate the day in a way that the employees all appreciate.

*Watches at end of twenty-five years.*—One of the best results of this work is the increased length of time your employees stay with you—a point

worth an evening's talk in itself. Among our employees are many in the rank and file who have been with us over twenty-five years, and others who will soon reach that mark. We have made it a custom to present everyone who has been with us in any capacity for that length of time with a gold watch and chain. It is not a reward for faithful service, but rather a badge of honor.

*Suggestions.*—The company has a system by which it solicits criticism and suggestions, keeping a record of them, and at the end of the year rewarding those who have made the most useful suggestions.

*"Do it now" signs.*—The motto of the company, "Do it now," is hung under each clock in the entire plant. It serves to remind the employee that there is no time like the present, and that it is never wise to defer action.

*Pure drinking water.*—All the water used for drinking purposes throughout the factory is filtered. A plant for filtering was built some time ago, and we soon began to see the wisdom of such a step.

Our opinion of the work of industrial betterment is summed up very well in the following words: The care and improvement of the animate machinery is at least as important to the manufacturer as the care and improvement of the inanimate machinery. The three most important matters for attention should be health, morals, and education; because a more vigorous employee can do more work, a more conscientious employee will do more conscientious work, and a more intelligent employee will do more intelligent work.

The *American Machinist* of recent date, Vol. XXIV, No. 16, commenting editorially upon this and similar efforts of progressive manufacturing establishments throughout the country, says:

When the things done by the National Cash Register Co., of Dayton, O., are referred to, it is quite common for other manufacturers to say: "Yes, I suppose that is all right for them. They have a monopoly of all the cash register business, and can get the profits that enable them to indulge in such frills. We can't do it in our business; competition is too keen." The Patterson Bros. have steadily maintained that these features, by which this factory is made much more attractive than ordinary workshops, *paid* in dollars and cents, but some of the skeptical ones have been slow to believe this, saying that nothing could prove that it *paid* until the test of working under strictly competitive conditions had been applied to it. We are beginning now to get the testimony of men who do things along similar lines in factories that are engaged in strictly competitive business, and it is gratifying to see that these men also find that it *pays*. Drop forgings, for instance, are manufactured under strictly competitive conditions, but, as shown in Mr. Redfield's address, printed at p. 393, it *pays*, in a strictly business sense, to give considerable attention and to spend considerable amounts of



money in securing the utmost possible comfort for men who work at drop forging, and to make them feel, not only that their rights are regarded, but that they are looked upon as important co-operatives in the success of the business, and that their interests will be looked after so far as possible. Mr. Redfield's statement that they never reduced piece-work prices, and do not consider it just or profitable to do so, will be regarded by many—probably most—manufacturers as rather queer. But the deliberate statement of the experienced treasurer of an incorporated company doing a highly successful business, under strictly competitive conditions, is not to be despised; on the contrary, it must be carefully considered by all who really believe in profiting by the experience of others. It is to be remembered, too, that this factory is carried on in the largest city of the world next to London, under social conditions generally regarded as most unfavorable for continuously pleasant relations with employees. Virtually the same testimony is given by Mr. Sherwin, of the Sherwin-Williams Co., of Cleveland; a company which manufactures paints, we presume also under competitive conditions. Mr. Sherwin most emphatically says that just, fair, and liberal treatment of employees *pays* in dollars and cents, and what he regards as just, fair, and liberal treatment is far beyond anything conceived of by the average manufacturer.

As experience accumulates with what has come to be called "industrial betterment," it is being made clear that men who are at the head of industrial establishments cannot afford to disregard these matters any more than they can afford to disregard thorough lubrication and other proper care of machinery. Men are not machines, and cannot profitably (to say nothing of the justice of the matter) be treated as machines. They must be treated as men, in order to get the best possible results from modern industrial operations.

#### SECTION XIII. THE RELATION OF THE YARDS TO THE SOCIABILITY OF THE COMMUNITY.

The general considerations which are true of the health interests in modern industry as exemplified at the Chicago Stock Yards are equally true of the sociability interests. Sociability or conviviality is as necessary to us as exercise. One of the most striking ways in which this elemental want manifests itself is in the need which every man feels of the honor and respect of his fellows—the need of personal recognition—what the Germans call *Anerkennung*. A person who does not have, not only a certain amount, but a certain quality of courteous attention and experience of social comradeship, is seriously crippled in every one of his social functions, even, it may be, to the impairment of his health, as in the extreme case of the

rejected lover or the unsuccessful statesman. This is the fact which makes solitary confinement, or "sending to Coventry," such fearful punishment. And in respect to no human interests, perhaps, have the principles of modern business erred more than in their relation to normal and democratic conviviality. By harsh and autocratic methods of management, by refusal to



CLUB-ROOM FOR EMPLOYEES.  
(Sherwin-Williams Co.'s Cleveland Factory.)

recognize trade unions, by indifference to the workman's social opportunities for companionship, by treating him as a cog in a machine without personal recognition or personal standing, the tendency has been in many quarters to arouse in the workman a corresponding spirit of hostility, and make him a mere sullen plodder or a resentful savage. This traditional attitude of modern business management toward the workman was bluntly expressed to the writer not long since by a manager in one of the largest packing houses at Chicago in the words: "When one cog wears out we put in another." The futility, wastefulness, and inherent absurdity of this principle applied to flesh and blood and spirit are coming to be felt by the most advanced of business managers, however; and, as a result, in many parts of

the world we see progressing the erection of workingmen's clubs, game-rooms, settlements, and assembly halls, and a corresponding development of democratic feeling and hearty co-operation between employers and workmen.<sup>1</sup>

The immediate question is: What is the relation of this typical community, the Chicago Stock Yards, to this movement?



CORNER OF GIRLS' DRESSINGROOM.  
(H. J. Heinz Co.)

Let us look at the conditions.

Regarding the element of personal recognition, it should, of course, be conceded at the outset that in any large business, employing thousands of men and women, it is out of the question for the few chief managers to be personally

acquainted with, or even often to meet, all of the employees. On the other hand, there is such a thing as a spirit of opposition, jealousy, and harshness between employers and workmen which may be developed to such an extent as seriously to interfere with and overburden the management. In some parts of the Chicago Stock Yards, it must be said, this spirit of hostile and aggressive opposition is developed to a serious degree. And the constant intense pressure and strain of work is tenfold intensified by this fact, not only in the case of the ordinary workmen, but very emphatically in the case of the superintendents and managers themselves. One of the most pathetic things in connection with

<sup>1</sup> For examples I refer to the Illinois Steel Co., of Joliet, Ill.; the National Cash Register Co., of Dayton, O.; the National Elgin Watch Co., of Elgin, Ill.; the Gorham Manufacturing Co., of Providence, R. I.; etc. See *TOLMAN, loc. cit.*



modern business is the position and often thankless work of the managers and superintendents in their unceasing efforts to hold in check and direct the workmen, on one side, and meet the demands of the stockholders and chief managers for increased profits, on the other. Some of the superintendents at the Stock Yards have confessed to the writer that they could have no heart



SKIFF RACE AT THE SUMMER OUTING.

(H. J. Heinz Co.)

in their business because they were compelled, on the one hand, to drive the men so mercilessly, and, on the other hand, to be on duty without vacations or rest so continuously at the summons of the manager without *a relieving sense of comradeship*. And this feeling of disgust and weariness comes not alone, indeed, from the physical toil involved, but very largely from the sense of personal indignity which it entails. The dominating military spirit here expressed comes out in the words of one of the large owners and managers himself, as quoted by his cab driver, when the drive of the manager was interrupted by a man who could

not get out of the way: "Well, drive over him, then; there are plenty of men; I'm in a hurry." There is, of course, in such a spirit a certain admirable element of energy and determination necessary to the conduct of any large affairs, but it lacks that essential element of democratic justice and personal comradeship without which even the greatest of enterprises are sooner or later doomed to failure. This same estrangement between manager and workmen comes out in the question of the same manager when the name of one of his chief departmental assistants was mentioned: "Well, who's Mr. ———?" The man held a very responsible position and had been in the employ several years. It may be necessary to keep track of workmen by numbers and checks, but it is not necessary on every occasion to refuse them the full recognition of men. The theory maintained by too many employers that the men need to be held down breeds the theory, held by too many workmen, that the employers are tyrants.

Another element which seriously injures the sociability interests of the workmen and the people of the community at the yards is the element of strain and irregularity of work, referred to in the preceding section. This strain and irregularity so disorganize the habits of the men that they are frequently too tired or too indifferent to be sociable and cheerful.

Again, the intense spirit of suspicion, in the face of an unskilled labor market so largely overstocked, accompanied by fierce and almost barbarous competition for work and for higher positions, very seriously injures the development of those finer sentiments of human comradeship so essential to any true and joyous democratic life. It is not too much to say that the packing houses at the yards are, in many if not all departments, hotbeds of petty political intrigue. The actual loss to the business, not only in good feeling and earnest work, but in dollars and cents occasioned by this condition of affairs, ought to be evident to every good manager. That it is not always evident is due to the fact that the managers at the head of affairs are often so far removed from the actual workmen that these matters of jealousy and discord are frequently suppressed before reaching them.



Once more the matter of cheerful and wholesome places for the noon luncheon of the employees comes up in this connection. Swift & Co. deserve great credit for their recent erection of dining-room, smoking-room, and barber shop for their general office employees. These same accommodations ought to be, and probably in time will be, extended to include in some measure all of the employees of the plant. In these matters of indus-



DINING-ROOM.  
(Sherwin-Williams Co.)

trial betterment, indeed, Swift & Co. seem to have seen the advantage of certain kinds of improvement sooner than any of the other companies.

Again it must be said, as in the case of the health interests, that, in spite of promising improvement in certain directions, the conditions of sociability at the Chicago Stock Yards are far from being ideal; and that once more the most serious public aspect of these conditions is the fact of their hindrance to the efforts . . . of the community outside the yards to raise the social life of the people. Such institutions as the settlements, the schools, the churches, and many others that might be named, find their efforts materially thwarted by the conditions of discord, personal contention, and worriment engaging so much of the time and

energy of the majority of the community at the yards. The socialization of industry even in one of its aspects must mean thus the organic, democratic unification of the whole community.

Measures being encouraged for the improvement of sociability in industry by progressive and high-minded employers throughout the country are as follows:

1. Club organizations in which employees are banded



BARBER SHOP AND DINING-ROOM.  
(Swift & Co.)

together for social, educational, recreative, and other purposes incident to such organizations.

2. The promotion of more occasional social gatherings, such as summer outings, banquets, sociables, etc.

3. Material support to the erection of meeting places and assembly rooms and game-rooms for employees.

4. The manifestation of interest in the personal affairs of individual employees, and the systematic cultivation of cordial and confidential relations with them.

#### SECTION XIV. THE RELATION OF THE YARDS TO THE WEALTH OF THE COMMUNITY.

That the possession of some wealth is necessary to the maintenance of every individual is obvious enough. But there are



at least three important considerations in this connection that are often overlooked:

1. That the amount of wealth necessary to maintain an individual in normal and healthy activity is dependent upon the degree to which his other interests have been stimulated.

2. That the kind or quality of wealth necessary to maintain the individual in the performance of his functions is dependent upon the degree of culture and refinement expressed in his other interests.

3. That the wealth interest is not normally satisfied—that is, so as to keep the whole system of interests or functions at their maximum of efficient co-operation—by the mere passive possession or enjoyment of wealth, but also by the actual manipulation and production of material goods.

There are many well-meaning people who object that the pleas of the laboring classes for a larger share in the products of industry are unjust, because these classes are receiving larger wages than ever before. But in so far as any class is enabled by law or custom to meet the increase in its other interests by an increase in its wage or income, democracy insists that it is not all to the point merely to show that the laborer receives a higher wage than ever before, but that the increase in his wage must be in correspondence with the degree to which his other interests in life have expanded. This is the fundamental plea of democracy for economic equality. Not that all individuals should possess, or even use, the same absolute amounts or qualities of wealth; for all individuals are not, and probably never will be, capable of effectively using and directing the same amounts or qualities of wealth; but that, in so far as their respective capacities are equal, as determined by the insistence or urgency of the whole system of their interests, all individuals must have, not only the leisure, but the actual opportunities, to use equivalent values of wealth—this democracy does require. It is often argued that on the whole the masses of men do have the use of the values of wealth, which they respectively show by actually using what they are capable of using. But our whole point is that this is an inadequate and fallacious argument in a circle. For if, by

class legislation or unequal advantages—such as conditions or station of birth—the actual capacities or interests of the disadvantageously situated class may be in time dwarfed and crippled, then it is indeed simply reasoning in a circle to conclude that they should have the use of only a relatively small amount of wealth because they have only relatively small capacity. We must see that the capacities are given a fair chance to develop. Society can be advanced only by a system of co-operative competition which aims constantly to foster and develop the interests of all of its members, and not by a system which sets a premium on the brute ability to crush out the interests of competing members. For only as the whole system of the individual's interests is constantly fostered and maintained intact can the system of social institutions which constitutes society itself be preserved and enriched. Thus the wealth interests of the working classes must keep pace with the development of their other interests. Put in this way, and compared with the existing facts, the general plea of these classes, that they are not receiving their share of the profits of labor, does not look so unjust. For what are the facts? The essential facts, as substantiated both by common observation and by expert testimony from men of conservative as well as of radical habits of thought, are at least three:

1. That the means of communication and education—the newspaper, the telegraph, the railroad, the school and church and factory itself—are rapidly expanding the interests of all classes in nearly the same ratio as compared with former ages.
2. That the incomes and absolute wealth of all classes are increasing; but
3. That the incomes and wealth of the strictly wage classes are not increasing in as favorable a proportion as are those of other classes, nor in the same ratio as are their own interests.

It is true that the employing classes, by constantly amassing and productively reinvesting large amounts of wealth, perform the important public service of industrially organizing society, and of compelling it to lay up stores for the future. But in doing this at present the tendency is too often to stint the wage-

workers in the distribution of these stores.<sup>1</sup> Overpopulation, vice, and indolence, to be sure, quite apart from any circumstances directly controllable by the employers, are frequently the causes of this poverty; and yet there are so many ways in which the employers may arrange a more equitable distribution among the wage-workers, to their mutual advantage, that indifference to the need of this reform is inexcusable. This fact is, in many parts of the world, being recognized in institutions of wage bonuses, profit-sharing, co-operative production and distribution, and other plans for a fairer assignment of incomes.<sup>2</sup> The movement presages once more the dawning of a clearer democratic consciousness in industry.

What is the present relation of industry at the Chicago Stock Yards, and in general throughout the country, to this movement?

In view of the extreme importance of the principle of publicity, a description of the methods and the measures of success attained in an endeavor to obtain accurate information on these vital points at the yards may be in order here. In the pursuit of this study the writer approached the work duly accredited from the University of Chicago. The average number of visits to each one of the seven or eight large packing establishments at the yards was seventeen. Everywhere, it should be said, the writer was received with great consideration, and was shown much courtesy. In some places not much of anything else was shown. After studying the whole situation, by means of visits and conferences with various employers and workmen, a special set of three schedules, relating especially to the economic conditions, was made up with the help of the timekeepers and superintendents, covering questions of number of employees, amounts of product, rates of wages, time of employment, etc. At first, almost all the com-

<sup>1</sup>For conservative works in substantiation of this statement I refer to MAYO-SMITH, *Statistics and Economics*, chap. xiii; WALKER, *Wages*, pp. 411 ff.; "Democracy and Wealth," *Forum*, Vol. X (1890), pp. 245-8.

For more radical works: ABBOTT, "Industrial Democracy," *Forum*, August, 1890; C. B. SPAHR, *Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States*.

<sup>2</sup>See TOLMAN, *loc. cit.*



panies expressed a willingness to have these schedules filled out. Several large companies made a very good beginning; one, especially, filling out nearly the whole schedule, which was inspected by the writer. But it would seem that, when it was observed what an amount of detailed information these schedules would furnish, the managers of most of these companies refused to allow the information to be returned, even upon the written assurance of the University that the individual replies would not be published. This extreme timidity and secrecy on the part of these companies may, in the present state of competitive business, be easily accounted for, but it is nevertheless a serious impediment to any efforts toward thoroughgoing, prudent enlightenment of the whole community.

The result of this effort was that three of the important companies were courageous and generous-minded enough to make an accurate statement, to the best of their ability, of the rates and amounts of wages, number of employees, etc., in both the busy and the duller seasons of the year, and to show the writer their records and books covering these matters. By systematic inquiries it was found, as expected, that these statements were substantially correct, as covering general averages and indicating general conditions, for all of the houses at the yards. The accompanying table, No. XIV, shows the collaborated results of these investigations. From these tables it will be at once evident that the statements made in chap. ii, respecting the incomes of families in the Stock Yard community, must be very moderate. And this is in accordance with the testimony of many of the workmen themselves who have been consulted.

A report published in the *Chicago Tribune* recently showed that the combined food capacity of the Chicago Stock Yards was equal to supplying with meat something over thirty millions of people—the combined armies of the world. Whether or not this is an exaggerated statement, the official figures of live-stock receipts and product shipments from the yards indicate that something approximating this number of people are supported annually with meat products from the Chicago Stock Yards. Now, upon the showing of the above statistics on wages

TABLE XIV.

SCHEDULE OF AVERAGE WAGE, AND TIME CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT, OF TWENTY LEADING DEPARTMENTS IN THREE PACKING PLANTS AT THE CHICAGO STOCK YARDS IN 1900.

## I. PRODUCING DEPARTMENTS: LABOR CHIEFLY UNSKILLED.

DEPARTMENTS (omitting managers and clerks).	WAGES PER HOUR.		AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGE PER WORKMAN.		Average Yearly Wage per Workman.	Average No. of Weeks Annually Lost per Workman. †
	Max.	Min.	Busy Seas'n, Two Weeks in Dec., 1900.	Slack Seas'n, Two Weeks in July, 1900.		
1. Killing *	\$0.45	\$0.10	\$9.85	\$4.65	\$352.00	9
2. Cutting *	.37½	.10	9.78	5.09	350.75	7½
3. Salting *	.25	.10	9.23	7.06	329.60	10
4. Pickling *	.30	.10	9.25	7.91	317.00	11½
5. Smoke house *	.25	.7½	8.00	8.00	348.70	8½
6. Tank-room.....	.30	.17½	10.58	6.66	383.25	8
7. Sausage *	.22½	.5	9.26	7.54	400.00	5
8. Lard refinery *	.27½	.5	8.63	7.56	371.00	6½
9. Casings *	.22½	.12½	7.18	3.25	310.17	9
10. Trimmings *	.35	.10	7.80	3.51	318.16	7½
Average for unskilled dep'ts.	\$0.27½	\$0.09½	\$8.95	\$6.12	\$347.36	8½

## II. AUXILIARY DEPARTMENTS: LABOR CHIEFLY SKILLED.

1. Car shop .....	\$0.27½	\$0.17½	\$10.04	\$9.15	\$475.10	3
2. Tin shop *	.27½	.07½	10.70	8.76	445.03	4
3. Machine shop *	.32½	.12½	13.70	9.81	490.00	3½
4. Carpentering .....	.40	.17½	13.23	12.95	530.27	4½
5. Cooperage .....	.30	.17½	14.84	8.13	511.15	3½
6. Steamfitting .....	.30	.20	14.16	10.66	551.50	3
7. Millwrights .....	.30	.20	13.98	12.90	540.11	4½
8. Masonry .....	.50	.21½	14.00	12.20	497.02	5
9. Barns .....	.20	.17½	13.71	12.19	470.16	3
10. Watchmen .....	.25	.17½	12.80	12.80	614.40	4
Average for skilled dep'ts.	\$0.31½	\$0.17	\$13.02	\$10.95	\$512.47	3½

REMARKS.—In all of the above departments both skilled and unskilled workmen are employed. In those marked with an asterisk (\*) children are employed as well as adults. These facts, of course, lower the average. (†) Including time lost on short days and short weeks in all seasons and for all causes.

received, it is certainly evident that something is radically wrong with our present industrial system, if thirty thousand workmen can supply thirty millions of people with meat foods, and in return can scarcely get enough to keep themselves on the average in decent livelihood. It would seem that from so large a number of persons, if proper industrial connections and

fair industrial distribution of the income returned were obtained, the workmen should receive a very much larger proportion of the value of the product. This judgment is made on the basis of the principle that industry is essentially a matter of reciprocal service, rather than of a cunning monopoly of incomes.<sup>1</sup> The morning application for work at the time-keeping office of a single great packing plant at the yards, where frequently between two hundred and five hundred eager and even desperate applicants may be seen at one time, is at once a pathetic sidelight and a burning indictment upon the present disorganized and contentious condition of industry.

Measures being employed for improving the distribution of wealth in the most progressive manufacturing establishments, as illustrated in the accompanying cuts, are as follows :

1. The encouragement, by the managers, of thrift on the part of the workmen, through savings-bank facilities and building and provident associations.

2. The awarding of prizes for valuable suggestions by employees, and the granting of bonuses for faithful services and the manifestation of zeal or interest in the work.

3. Under certain circumstances a sliding scale of wages, corresponding to prices of products.

4. Under some conditions the sharing of profits and dividends with employees.

5. Provision on the part of the companies for accident and sickness insurance for their men.

6. Wherever possible, a horizontal increase in wages has often been found to be very beneficial to the whole business. A notable recent case is that of the Illinois Central Railroad.<sup>2</sup>

7. The provision for old-age insurance for the workmen.

• Notable examples of this very difficult provision under present competitive conditions are those of the Carl Zeiss Stiftung, of

<sup>1</sup> Of course, it is assumed that the able manager should receive a larger income than the mechanical workman, because the manager really serves more people.

<sup>2</sup> See the Chicago Sunday *Record-Herald* for May 5, 1901.

Jena, Germany,<sup>1</sup> of the Carnegie Steel Co.,<sup>2</sup> and of Pennsylvania, and Baltimore & Ohio Railroads.

SECTION XV. THE RELATION OF THE YARDS TO THE EDUCATION OF THE COMMUNITY.

With respect to the relation of modern production to the function of instruction, or the knowledge interest, four chief indictments may be made :

1. By keeping secret and private in every possible way the condition of the industrial situation, modern business systematically compels men to work largely in the dark. This is the chief cause of overproduction and industrial panic. This is coming to be publicly recognized as such an evil that many clear-sighted business managers themselves are beginning to advocate a general legal publicity of accounts for large corporations.<sup>3</sup>

2. By keeping the general condition and aims of the business from the knowledge of the workman, the present system often deprives him of that immense stimulus which comes from a consciousness of the specific social value of his work, and which makes him labor with more zeal and faithfulness, in the feeling that he is a man, and not a mere machine.

3. By excessively long hours and hard work, the time and strength and interest of the workman for intellectual development are often crushed out.

4. By intimidation and refusal of material support to public investigators, teachers, and scientists, their work is thus too often made shallow, partial, and ineffective for the best public guidance.

These methods are a natural and normal outcome of the principle of modern industry which regards a business as the concern or interest of only a small group, and that, indeed, often only the employing group. But this conception also is retreating

<sup>1</sup> See account of this industrial organization in the *American Journal of Sociology*, "Notes and Abstracts," March, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Chicago Record* of March 14, 1901.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the position of S. W. Allerton, a former well-known meat packer of Chicago, in the *Saturday Evening Post* of February 16, 1901, p. 3.

before the advance of the more democratic idea that "private business is a public trust."<sup>1</sup>

These four aspects of the relation of modern production to the intelligence of the people are all exemplified at the Chicago Stock Yards. The conditions of the business, as we have seen, are closely suppressed; the workman is expected to labor without an intelligent comprehension of the significance of his work; the severity and irregularity of the work discourage mental development, and the attitude toward the servants of publicity and education is decidedly conservative.

It is encouraging to note that throughout the country many firms are coming to see the inherent futility of such a policy. Two or three examples only can be given here. The National Cash Register Co., of Dayton, O., says: "The policy of the company is to give the fullest information on all subjects to employees, so that everyone may act intelligently. Almost every detail of the business, including even the number of registers to be made, of orders on hand, and of shipments made, is posted in a conspicuous place." In addition to this the company has a system of monthly and annual meetings of all the employees, and, especially in the latter case, anecdotes and illustrations are given by the traveling salesmen of their experiences, and of the various uses of the products handled, so that all the employees may feel the real value of their daily work. If this case seems to be a specially favorable one to the question of publicity, on account, perhaps, of lack of competition, other examples not so conditioned may be given. The Sherwin-Williams Co., paint and varnish makers of Cleveland, O., already referred to, says: "The *Chameleon*, which is published by us for the interest and benefit of our loyal staff, we find keeps us in closer touch with our employees. It stimulates all to exert their best efforts for the promotion of our business, it disseminates information with regard to our products and the methods of pushing their sale, and last, but not least, it is a constant factor in maintaining the enthusiasm inspired by the

<sup>1</sup> PROFESSOR A. W. SMALL, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. I, pp. 276-89.



annual gathering of our employees." Numerous similar quotations might be given from other prominent houses.<sup>1</sup>

A very effective device for increasing the intelligent interest of the workmen in the business is that, perhaps first perfected by the National Cash Register Co., for enabling the workmen to make suggestions by autograph duplicate register, in such a way that the bosses or superintendents have no power to gain the credit for them. To give a single instance at the packing houses, among scores that might be mentioned, the writer observed in passing through one of the killing departments that the bodies of the hogs, as they were being scraped, passed between jets of water to be washed. These streams were constantly running, and a great deal of water was thus wasted. By a very simple device of levers, the moving bodies of the hogs might be made to open and close automatically the water faucets as they passed in and out of their range. Now, any workman who would make such a suggestion as that under the conditions at the yards would be in a fair position to have the information appropriated by the boss, to whom he told it, for his own advancement; and thus intelligent interest and enthusiastic co-operation on the part of the workman are systematically suppressed by the methods in vogue. And any measures looking toward conditions of thoughtful and enthusiastic work on the part of the workman ought certainly to receive serious consideration.

Another way in which the yards impede the intellectual development of the community is in the employment of young boys, who ought properly to be in school. To be sure, these boys are supposed to have an affidavit that they have reached the legal school age limit of fourteen years, but surely, on any ideal system, some of the hordes of men out of employment ought to be given work in the place of these young boys. For literally hundreds of them stunt their powers and narrow their lives in the early struggle amid revolting surroundings, for the livelihood which their fathers and older brothers ought properly to have the chance to earn for them.

<sup>1</sup> See *Social Service*, March, 1901, p. 78.

Measures being employed by good managers throughout the country for the cultivation of the knowledge interest of their workmen are :

1. The fostering and promotion of free lectures.
2. The erection of assembly halls for such purposes.
3. The encouragement of the use of libraries.<sup>1</sup>
4. The publication of special industrial circulars and magazines ; and
5. The substantial encouragement of kindergartens, industrial schools, and manual-training and household-art classes.<sup>2</sup>

#### SECTION XVI. THE RELATION OF THE YARDS TO THE BEAUTY OF THE COMMUNITY.

Concerning the relation of modern business to art, three or four things are worthy of observation :

1. A certain amount and quality of artistic expression on the part of every individual is necessary to the free and healthy performance of his social functions. This not only follows from our organic conception of life, but may be verified by empirical observation. Everyone, whether he is specifically conscious of the fact or not, is an amateur artist and practices his art daily. In his dress, his surroundings, his manners, his gait, his style of workmanship, his choice and enunciation of language, his quality of voice and care of person, as well as in the music he perchance plays, the pictures he paints, or the poetry he writes—in all he is exhibiting in sensuous forms his personal estimate of the meanings and values of life. And this is art. Special times and places may, and must, be set aside for special development and care of the artistic function ; but art is a pervasive, daily, life-transforming thing. And it is just here, in its failure to recog-

<sup>1</sup> A very suggestive measure for encouraging interest in useful books employed by the National Cash Register Co. is that of introducing into the factory rooms at the noon hour trucks of good books from the city library, which are thus made easily accessible to the workmen.

<sup>2</sup> The magnificent new institute recently established by the late Philip D. Armour, while a school of high standard established out of a sense of the purest philanthropy, does not reach the classes of the community, and particularly of the Stock Yard community, which most need such a service. Something more immediate, free, and direct, similar perhaps to social-settlement classes, is needed in addition.

nize the inherent need of daily association with beautiful objects, that modern business reveals one of its most serious defects in attainment of the ideal of democracy. We have repeated instances of the power of the beauty of flowers, pure skies, and chaste architecture to ennoble men, and of the power of ugliness, of dirt, and of inharmonious surroundings to degrade them. And yet, in the face of these examples, and against the half-articulate protest of all life, the piles of architectural ugliness arise, the skies are unnecessarily darkened with coal smoke, streams are wantonly polluted, and the free and joyous revelation of the values of human existence is shut out of thousands of lives under the narrow and perverted notion that only thus can the ends of production be best achieved.

It is here again a pleasure to observe that not all employers regard business from this restricted and baneful point of view; but that more and more the movement is extending for making industry a purely social function, beautiful with the use of flowers, fine architecture, and harmonious colors.<sup>1</sup>

2. Another way in which industry as at present conducted often tends to defeat the ends of art is in prolonging the hours and strain of work so far as to deaden interest, and unfortunately limit the time, of the workman for participating in special artistic avocation or entertainment, such as art exhibitions, musical recitals, dramatic performances of high order, etc. In this way, then, as in its relation to the other social functions, also, industry tends to limit the range of usefulness and public esteem of all especial artistic institutions.

3. But perhaps the most serious indictment which art may bring against industry is that it tends to make life as a whole, in so many of its phases, discordant, exclusive, and hostilely competitive in spirit; that the impulse toward great art, which is essentially altruistic and inclusive in spirit, is starved for lack of great common ideals and purposes on which to feed and grow. This is a serious fault of our civilization, due not alone to the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the plants of the National Cash Register Co., of Dayton, O.; of the General Electric Light Co., of Schenectady, N. Y.; of the H. J. Heinz Co., of Pittsburgh, Pa.; and of the N. O. Nelson Co., of Leclaire, Ill., among others.

sins of industry, and remediable only by the general diffusion of more democratic ideals.

Especial attention at this point is called to the fact that workingmen's homes may be vastly improved from every standpoint, at really very small cost, by the employment of shrubbery



ROOF GARDEN.  
(H. J. Heinz Co.)

and flowers under good landscape gardening.<sup>1</sup> In an interesting pamphlet, entitled *A New Era in Manufacturing*, the National Cash Register Co. says:

How to make a business successful from the standpoint of the capitalist, and at the same time how to recognize the rights and needs of the employees, is a difficult problem. In seeking to solve it the officers of this company have done many things which have been heretofore regarded as out of place in a

<sup>1</sup>On the question of landscape gardening and the use of flowers in beautifying industrial communities two practical points are essential: to secure the necessary information (1) as to the use and cultivation of plants, and (2) as to the means of procuring

manufacturing establishment. They believe, however, that the cultivation of these attractive features is right, and that, when wisely and carefully planned, they pay in a business sense, to say nothing of the pleasure and satisfaction derived from them. This belief is not a mere notion based upon the taste for refined surroundings, but is a deliberate conclusion reached as the result of experience and careful consideration. It is a belief firmly held that pleasant surroundings are conducive to the economical production of good work, while they attract a much better class of working people. The company, therefore,



GIRLS' DINING-ROOM,  
(H. J. Heinz Co.)

pays good wages and gives unusual attention to matters of sanitation, cleanliness, light, ventilation, heating, and ornamentation.

Particular measures being employed for the promotion of beauty in industry are: (1) the encouragement of concerts, musical entertainments, and musical clubs on the part of the

the seeds and plants to cultivate. In respect to these points (1) a very valuable work is being done by some of our larger agricultural colleges, notably at Cornell University, by the free distribution of simple directions upon landscape gardening and the cultivation of flowers; and (2) a similarly useful work is being conducted by the United States government in the free distribution, through the Agricultural Department, of seeds. Putting these two facts together, it is not very utopian to concede that some of our worst industrial communities may be in time transformed by the use of these powerful agencies. The seeds should be ordered through the congressman of the district.



employees; (2) the distribution of good artistic illustrations; (3) the active encouragement of landscape gardening and the exterior and interior decoration of factories and homes.<sup>1</sup>

The relation of the Chicago Stock Yards to these movements of artistic betterment in industry is as yet, it must be confessed, not very close. The whole air of the place usually gives one a very disagreeable shock, both physically and æsthetically. Many of the buildings were constructed when these modern ideas of the intimate relation of art to industry were not popularly entertained, and are consequently, from an æsthetic point of view, piles of most miserable and grimy ugliness. And the views from the factory windows are not exactly comparable to those from the windows of the Dayton company. There is, however, at the Stock Yards still considerable unoccupied land, and the possibility of really artistic development is much greater than in many a more crowded city quarter, where business houses are already making commendable advances in this direction.

SECTION XVII. THE RELATION OF THE YARDS TO THE MORALITY OF THE COMMUNITY.

The point at which the spirit of modern industry comes into most violent conflict with the spirit of democracy is in the political and ethical sphere. Indeed, we may fairly say that the present discord between the principles of production and the principles of public control is the source of the paramount social problem of our day. As Professor Wagner has stated it: "The social question comes from a consciousness of a contradiction between the economic development and the social ideal of liberty and equality which is being realized in political life."<sup>2</sup>

The problem of social control is more than a question of depositing ballots or securing elections. It is fundamentally a question of daily and hourly self-control. Self-control, it

<sup>1</sup> The conditions of life of a great city vary so widely from those of some smaller industrial community that the special agencies involved for applying such plans may differ; and, in fact, the chief agency for the introduction and cultivation of these improvements in the large city will be, not always the factory, but, frequently, the school.

<sup>2</sup> *Lehrbuch der politischen Oeconomie*, 2d ed., p. 36.

should be remembered, has two aspects: the inner, moral control of habits and impulses, and the outer control of objects and events. These are but two aspects of one problem. But they show that the problem must be approached in two ways. For the inner control of habits and impulses the individual himself is directly responsible. In this sense every man must work out his own salvation alone. But for the outward control of objects and events the association of individuals is responsible. This is the phase which directly concerns us here. And as each phase determines the other, the whole problem may be intelligently considered from this point of view. What, then, is democratic control, and what is the relation of modern industry to it?

Democratic control is such a public direction of the material agencies of a society that all of its members may realize their elemental interests by free participation in all of its social functions. I say public direction, because no man or body of men in society is wise enough to know what the particular realization of the interests of its citizens is, *without their voices in the matter*. It is the very heart of democracy that every normal individual is able to project his interests in the form of ideals, and must have a chance, through co-operation with others, to realize them.

Now, what is the general relation of modern industry to these needs of social control?

1. The *present* methods of private ownership and control of the means of production place the large body of wage-workers in such a position that practically none of them, however sober and thrifty they may individually be, can be the arbiters of their own happiness and destiny in the degree to which their employers can be the arbiters of theirs. This is assuredly not to say that all the wild Utopian schemes of zealous socialists should be tested in business, to its consequent confusion worse than ever confounded. It is simply to state the fact, which every honest investigator may verify for himself, namely, that, under our modern conditions of congested population and vast consolidation of business, the private ownership of the machine is practically the private ownership of the man who must use it if he is

to keep from starving. This is the state of affairs which necessarily puts one class of citizens in a position of cringing subservience to another. It is therefore a condition intolerable to democracy. The writer is certainly not alone in the belief that we are slowly and painfully, but surely, emerging from this condition; and that increasingly intelligent governmental regulations, increasing managerial care, and increasing thoughtfulness and self-control on the part of the working classes are evidences of this tendency.

2. Another difficulty of the situation, as old as humanity itself, and quite as much opposed to democracy as the first, is the prostitution of public office by the owners of large wealth. If class ownership of the tools is class ownership of the workmen, class control of the public offices is class control of the whole community. The remedy for this which seems most encouraging is the growing insistence on the publicity of the facts.

The conditions at the Stock Yards amply illustrate both of these points. The first may be particularly illustrated by the circumstances involved in the recent strike of girls in one of the canning works. As stated by the managers, these girls were receiving too high wages. That is, working at piece rates in the labeling departments, they had become so proficient that at the old scale of wages they were making \$12, \$15, and \$18 a week. This seemed to the managers out of proportion, and they announced a reduction of the piece rates, whereupon the whole force of employees in the department quit work and refused to allow any others to be employed in their places. This occasioned serious loss, both to the company and to the employees. Finally the girls were compelled to allow others to be hired in their places, and in attempting to find work elsewhere they found that they had apparently been blacklisted by all the companies in the city employing the service in which they had become expert. Their case was appealed to the courts, and decision was rendered against them by Judge Baker, on the grounds that, if employees have the right to combine in seeking employment, employers also have the right to combine in

employing or refusing to employ those whom they will. This decision, however legal, does not indeed reach the root of the difficulty. For it, as a matter of fact, brings out an inherent injustice in our whole established legal and industrial system. In a situation in which the skill of the employee is his only capital, and in which he must apply for permission to use that skill to the ever-decreasing few owners of great wealth, who can easily combine against him, such a combination is, indeed, unjust, whether it could be proved so in a legal sense or not. As former Governor Altgeld stated the matter: "If this decision of Judge Baker's is to stand, then we shall have this anomaly in the law: that a combination among powerful corporations or large employers to blacklist or boycott a man and deprive him of support is legal, while a combination among laborers to boycott a certain manufacturer and refuse to buy his goods is a crime."<sup>1</sup> The workmen cannot be blamed if they come to believe that the whole structure and tradition of our modern courts of law are inclined to be biased in favor of the wealthy employer and against his propertyless employee. The Federation of Labor of Chicago, which is the central body representing 150,000 men, has at last been aroused to the danger of this question, and has unanimously voted in favor of a resolution to have the different unions assess their members five cents each to raise funds for the prosecution of the question in the court of last resort; and has also directed its officers to make an appeal to all the labor unions in the United States under the seal of the federation asking for similar action. The counsel for the plaintiffs in this case concludes: "If it is finally decided by the court of last resort that this infamous system of subjugating labor is lawful under the laws of this land, I predict that it will be but a short time till the government which sustains such a doctrine will be overthrown."<sup>2</sup>

Now let us notice the attitude of the packing companies (and, for that matter, of large companies in general in their dealings with strikes) toward the employees who have been taken

<sup>1</sup> *Sunday Record-Herald*, May 19, 1901, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

on in the places of those who struck. The loss entailed by the strike, and the desire to avoid a repetition of it, induced the managers to employ the policy of giving work for a much reduced period of time to a much larger number of employees than before,<sup>1</sup> so that the latter should not feel that they could afford to risk a repetition of the strike. The result is that the present employees are getting about half the wages that the former employees received, and the discontent and hardship of the situation are only increased.

We seem, then, to be forced into the dilemma either of having our manual-work people stupidly subject to the possible brutality and tyranny of their employers, or else, on the other hand, of having to endure a condition of permanent hostility and warfare between the employers and the employed. There is no other alternative upon the present principle of antagonized interests between capital and labor. The only solution of the difficulty must, therefore, be to find a more democratic principle of conducting business, in which the interests of all parties concerned shall have full representation openly conceded.

Regarding the attitude of large industrial concerns, especially, toward the constituted authorities of political control, and particularly in the matter of taxation, a striking and typical example is offered at the Chicago Stock Yards. It should be said at the beginning of this subject that the present anomalous condition of our assessment system in Chicago is due to the fact that it has grown up as a piece of patchwork under a constitution adapted, not to the conditions of a large city, but only to those of a rural community. Thus we have for Chicago eighteen or twenty distinct taxing bodies, very loosely united for tax purposes (as must necessarily be the case under the circumstances) through the office of the county officials.<sup>2</sup> This state of affairs, now maintaining in existence numerous useless

<sup>1</sup> Three hundred were employed in the place of two hundred.

<sup>2</sup> These distinct taxing bodies levying upon Chicago property are : the state, the county, the city, the public schools, the public library, the North Park Board, the West Park Board, the South Park Board, the Sanitary District Board, and twelve separate towns besides.



officials, has caused the whole system to be more or less of a sand-bagging institution, cultivating in the public habits of questionable morality, if not of open bribery. The remedy for the situation must obviously be an organization of the separate parts into one coherent system through a revision of the state constitution, as was well pointed out by Mayor Harrison in his message to the city council for 1899, and again emphasized in his message for 1900.<sup>1</sup> But the special point to be noticed here is that under these conditions—and they exist in some measure throughout a large portion of the country—the wealthy and employing classes of the community are avoiding, and often consider themselves compelled by the present condition of business to avoid, their legal part of the public revenue, a disproportionate burden of which falls upon other classes, and upon the manual laborers especially. As evidence of this, with respect both to personal property and to real estate, we need only refer to the message of the mayor for 1899.

Regarding personal-property assessments, a still more deplorable state of affairs is shown in the tables officially issued from the Board of Assessors' office upon the subject of personal property.<sup>2</sup>

Another serious feature of the present assessment situation, as typified at the Stock Yards, is found in the present inclination of many of the large corporations to organize themselves under the laws of New Jersey, Delaware, and other similar states, in such a way as to escape taxation of personal property in Illinois almost entirely.<sup>2</sup> This is clearly shown in the tables on personal-property assessment above referred to in the cases of certain companies which, since being incorporated under the laws of those states, simply swear that their goods now in Illinois are only original packages in transit, and cannot be assessed here.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* "Letter of a Delaware Agency," published in the *Report of the Chicago Trust Conference*, in an address by W. J. BRYAN; and also *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. V, p. 704, abstract of article by SYLVESTER PENNOVER in *American Law Review* for November-December, 1899. It is here shown that New Jersey has authorized the issue of corporation stocks to a greater declared value than that of all the gold and silver coin in the whole world, and besides allows these corporations to escape taxation in other states where they do business.

Some of the measures being employed by the more earnest-minded managers of industry throughout the country for the cultivation of moral justice in their dealings with their workmen and the public are as follows :

1. The rendering of financial aid to employees in case of hardship or distress.
2. The settlement of difficulties honestly and earnestly by arbitration.
3. The employment in some business houses of the committee system of supervision in place of appointed bosses.
4. The advancement of the moral and religious life of the workmen by encouragement of Sunday schools, churches, etc., and discouragement of vicious saloon associations.<sup>1</sup>
5. An unyielding insistence that honest taxes shall be levied and honest taxes paid.

Upon the subject of common justice in business management, Mr. William C. Redfield, treasurer of the J. H. Williams Co., of New York, says :<sup>2</sup>

No man can estimate the difference in production, in the same factory, between a force of men justly and fairly treated, earnest and enthusiastic in their work, and a force of men who work merely because they must to get their pay Saturdays. But I believe that the difference between these two may be the difference between ruin and dividends. . . .

More and more we strive for team work between ourselves and our employees. . . . We must not think of giving alms, but of doing justice. The American workman is self-respecting, rendering fairly value for value : to offer him charity insults him. He wants, and ought, to be treated as a fellow-man in a manly way. . . .

It is not so much what we do as the spirit in which it is done. Frills without just pay are vain. Just wages and a hearty hand-shake are themselves industrial betterment. Mutual respect and mutual service must come between employer and employee from real knowledge of each by the other. Let them get together.

<sup>1</sup>Note the special letter prepared for the JOURNAL by the John B. Stetson Co., of Philadelphia, on improved industrial conditions in their felt-hat manufactory, and appearing in this issue ; *vid. Notes and Abstracts.*

<sup>2</sup>In the *American Machinist* for April 11, 1901.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS FOR THE PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITIES, AS REPRESENTED AT THE CHICAGO STOCK YARDS.

SOCIETY is coming to see more and more clearly that there is no single specific or panacea for all social ills, but that indeed the adequate and thorough treatment of any particular case of social difficulty or degeneracy must necessarily involve the whole round of social functions in their remedial services. It is not, therefore, the purpose of the present chapter to offer any one grand cure for the ills of modern industrial society, such as we have found to exist in the Stock Yard community. What will be attempted, however, is to offer a few suggestions which seem to be most pertinent to the writer, in any earnest and thorough-going efforts to improve our social organization, from the special point of view of large manufacturing communities. And the method adopted will be to make these suggestions bear directly upon the particular conditions at the yards, inasmuch as they are generally typical for the whole country. We propose to begin with the most general governmental measures and proceed, through a discussion of the functions of the lesser controlling bodies, to the most particular and individual measures, with special reference to the function and opportunity of the public schools in the development of good citizens.

#### SECTION XVIII. WHAT THE FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS MAY DO.

It may seem a trifle strange and sensational to say that any real and permanently beneficial change in the conditions of life of the Chicago Stock Yard community may involve an amendment of the United States constitution to admit federal supervision of interstate corporations, and likewise of the Illinois state constitution to admit local management of truly local affairs.

But if our foregoing analysis be correct, and society be really and truly organic, there is no reason why such a large constitutional change might not be necessitated by any more than merely superficial reform of a particular community. It is not maintained here that such constitutional amendments must necessarily be made. That must be left for constitutional specialists to decide. But, inasmuch as the community studied is typical for a very general condition of affairs throughout the country, it is maintained that the proposition of, or need of, a constitutional amendment which might grow out of the reform measures suggested should properly be considered neither very strange nor very sensational.

In view of the facts presented in sec. xxii, perhaps the first and most vital point at which general governmental action should be directed is that of the state and local revenue system. As shown in the section referred to, many of the largest and wealthiest industrial concerns are evading their just measure of support to the agencies of public betterment and control, because, first, there is no uniform state legislation, and indeed hardly can be, on the question of the legal standing and taxation of large corporations. The reference to the Delaware and New Jersey laws, already cited, makes this point plain. It is incumbent, therefore, upon the general government to take such measures as will insure uniformity and interstate justice upon this matter.

- It has been suggested by some that a responsible commission be created by Congress with legal power to license large corporations organized in one state to do business in another under specified conditions, and that without this license such conduct of business would be illegal. Whether this measure would have too many practical obstacles to its success, legislative specialists must decide. Whether the measure would require a constitutional amendment, judicial specialists must decide.

Another measure for the general control of large corporations being widely urged today is that of general publicity of accounts. Whether this measure were carried out to the fullest extent or only in certain particulars, it would have a tendency, at any rate, to decrease the amount of false stock quotations, to

enable men to judge the market conditions with much greater accuracy and safety, and to unite in co-operation many firms doing similar kinds of business. As a matter of fact, we believe, with eminent and successful business-men such as Mr. S. W. Allerton, above referred to, that the principle of publicity is the most fundamental principle of social reform which can be employed.

With respect to the work of the state government, two or three reform measures may be suggested. In the first place, the city of Chicago ought to be enabled, by state legislative act if necessary, to organize its disjointed and obsolete methods of public government and revenue into one effective and economical system.

Again, the question of some kind of compulsory insurance ought to be brought up, and effective measures similar to those in force in Germany ought to be adopted, for all employers of labor uniformly.<sup>1</sup> This measure would in a degree relieve the waste of body and mind at present incident to the worry of the workman regarding his security in sickness and old age.

Once more, more thorough factory laws should be passed compelling the better protection of machinery, better sanitation of places of employment, and enabling a more thorough system of factory inspection.

#### SECTION XIX. WHAT THE CITY GOVERNMENT MAY DO.

Assuming a good system of revenue—and the existing system must certainly be reorganized—the city should take active measures looking to the immediate introduction of certain local improvements. These improvements have been ably urged by Mayor Harrison himself in his annual reports for 1899 and 1900.

In the first place, a much larger number of public baths, located in the industrial districts of the city especially, should be built. The report of the health commissioner shows the large number of baths given by those already in operation, at very moderate cost and with immensely beneficial results. It is not too much to say that good public baths, especially in hot

<sup>1</sup> See *Special Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor*, No. 4, 1893.



weather, are sources of real moral and civic righteousness and good order.

Once more, the city should take immediate and active measures for the securing of grounds for small parks in these localities, while an easy opportunity is offered. In connection with these parks should be playgrounds and places for wholesome amusement for the children. The movement, already enthusiastically organized and ably advanced, to secure playgrounds in connection with the public-school buildings should be encouraged by all good citizens.

The matter of good paving and garbage disposal and general sanitation of these congested industrial communities also deserves the immediate attention of the city and encouragement and support of all good citizens. The examples of excellent and economical pavings, and of garbage disposal, coming to us from every great European city, and beginning to be employed in some cities in America, should induce the people of Chicago to stop wasting their money and the health of the citizens with the miserable excuse for these municipal benefits which the people of the industrial districts have had to put up with heretofore. Not all the citizens know that even here in Chicago, at the House of Correction on the West Side, we have one of the best and most inexpensive garbage consumers in the world, and by only a slight adaptation of existing agencies this system of garbage consumption could be utilized for power at various points in the city to supply the whole city with electric lights.

The great opportunity offered by the new drainage canal, for the improvement of drinking water, and the affording of a great waterway for commerce and pleasure, need not perhaps be urged at this point.

Another city improvement which would have a decided beneficial reflex influence upon the whole city, including its poorer districts, will be the proposed improvement of the lake front from the Lake Front Park at Twelfth street to Jackson Park at Fifty-sixth street. This improvement will undoubtedly cost a large sum, but will in time many fold repay the outlay; and the

temper and spirit of Chicago are a guarantee that such a grand and beneficial improvement will not long be allowed to go unrealized.

SECTION XX. WHAT THE CLUBS AND SETTLEMENTS MAY DO.

The present widespread movement of almost all voluntary organizations in the city for the beautifying and purifying of Chicago is one of the most encouraging developments of recent years. The efforts of the Municipal Art League, led by Lorado Taft and Franklin MacVeagh, and of the Non-Partisan League, for the artistic improvement of the city, should be earnestly seconded by all citizens who have any desire for a noble and healthful city in which to live.<sup>1</sup>

In these matters of civic reform one of the most effective agencies developed in recent years is that of the women's clubs. The women of these clubs are almost the only members of the community who, by reason of leisure, and intellectual and artistic training, can have the most unfettered opportunity to discuss and inaugurate these reforms. As a very general rule, also, the women have the sanitary and artistic instinct, and also the independent courage with which to make these ideal measures successful.

The social settlements, such as those of Chicago Commons, Hull House, and the University of Chicago Settlement in the Stock Yard district, have very great possibilities for social betterment, if they can be kept from becoming mere large institutional machines for trying mechanically to grind out certain kinds of good citizens, and can be kept instinct with the spirit of personal democratic devotion to the people among whom they are located. And it should be the special duty and privilege of the great manufacturing concerns doing business in their neighborhood to help the settlements in every way possible, to improve the conditions of life and increase the efficiency of their employees.

<sup>1</sup> For accounts of the two organizations here referred to, see the *Chicago Record-Herald*, for April 28 and May 5, 1901.

**SECTION XXI. WHAT THE CHARITIES AND PHILANTHROPIES MAY DO.**

What the charities and philanthropies of the city of Chicago may most profitably do with respect to the problems of its great industrial centers may perhaps be summed up in the one word "organize." Let them profit by the example of the great industrial concerns themselves, which by organization have begun to eliminate so many of the former elements of economic confusion, repetition, and waste. At present the charities and philanthropies scattered throughout the city are often working at cross purposes with each other, unnecessarily trying to cover two or three times the same territory, and having as yet no well-recognized central bureau through which systematically to direct their business. The Bureau of Associated Charities, ably conducted and managed, offers the very means needed for this systematic co-operation of all charitable agencies in the city. And it is certainly time that these agencies should open their eyes more widely to the advantages of this organization. It would prevent duplication of work, insure the detection of fraud, and provide much more effectively for the real help and strengthening of those who need to be enabled to help themselves.

**SECTION XXII. WHAT THE CHURCHES MAY DO.**

The most immediate movement to which the churches as a whole may, perhaps, most profitably direct their attention may also be summed up in the word "organize." The Federation of Churches and Christian Workers in New York city, already referred to, has demonstrated there the great practical value of this principle applied in church work, and the replies received from the pastors addressed by the writer on the subject in Chicago show that the times may indeed be ripe for such a movement here. It would certainly increase the growing sense of fraternal unity among the followers of Christ, and afford the necessary machinery for systematically carrying that spirit into effective daily practice. In this there need be no fear of mere superfluous machinery, if the spirit of Christian devotion is strengthened by the added opportunities for doing effective

Christian work. The method of organization, indeed, is the only successful method of any large undertaking for modern urban, as distinct from rural, communities. In our great contemporary cities the elements of social life are so complex and so widely scattered that only by highly specialized and unified systems of communication and control can these scattered elements be brought into working relations with each other. In accordance with this suggestion, based upon the experience of New York, we believe that the external or extensive aspects of church work in Chicago may be very greatly benefited. The movement here has already been organized, with Professor Graham Taylor at its head.

On the intensive or internal side of church work especial attention should be devoted to the new movement in the direction of reorganizing the Sunday school upon a more practical and effective basis. I refer here especially to the recent work undertaken under the direction of President Harper, Professor Burton, and others in connection with the work of the Hyde Park Baptist Church of this city. The plan is to organize the Sunday school upon the principle of the graded secular schools, with a view to enabling both teachers and pupils to get a more systematic and firm grasp upon the teachings and history of the Bible, and through them a more reverent and profound apprehension and experience of the moral and spiritual life. The curriculum which is now being prepared divides the school into two general divisions. The first or elementary division corresponds to the public-school grades up to the fourth, and the second or advanced division corresponds to the higher grades and the high school. Besides these two there are a kindergarten division and an adult division. From the first grade to the adult division regular examinations are held in December, March, and June. The answers to printed questions are written at home and then submitted to be examined. If a student fails in the examination, he does not pass and is required to do the work of the grade again. For Grades 1 to 4 the curriculum calls for stories and verses from the Bible, with the free use of pictures. An elementary course upon the Bible as a collection

of great books is designed for the fourth grade. The study of biography is the work for the fifth and sixth grades, and studies in separate books are given in the seventh and eighth. In the grades corresponding to the high school, biblical history is studied—a year and a half being spent on Old Testament history, a year and a half on the life of Christ, and a year on the apostolic age. In the adult division the courses are elective. In this division one of the most interesting courses is upon “business ethics.” A group of active business-men are trying to find out just how far they can carry their Christianity into the daily affairs of business life, as it is at present constituted. During the week they ask their business associates questions that bear on topics under consideration, tabulate the answers, and report to the leader, who files the answers in a card catalogue. From these some interesting truths are ascertained. One result of these investigations has occasioned the discovery that a majority of business-men are intensely interested in genuine religion. And text-books covering these courses are in preparation. The whole system is infused with the most earnest spirit of devotion. Let such a system as this be encouraged and adopted throughout the country, and many of the difficulties that now beset our industrial and social life will certainly be very greatly diminished. Earnest, intelligent, Christian thoughtfulness is everywhere the victorious foe of social confusion and contention.

#### SECTION XXIII. WHAT PUBLIC-SPIRITED CITIZENS MAY DO.

After all, any question of high and worthy civic life reduces itself ultimately to a matter to be decided personally by each individual. And the future greatness and glory of Chicago will be decided by the number and earnestness of the individual citizens, who determine that, as for themselves, they will become informed upon the great and urgent social movements of their day around them, and will act unflinchingly and habitually in accordance with the duties and privileges which they discover to be theirs.

In the first place, every citizen ought to be in some way



associated with some civic organization for the commercial, artistic, or moral advancement of the city. Such an organization as the Civic Federation is typical of scores of smaller, but important and essential, organizations scattered throughout Chicago. In the second place, every citizen should regularly take some paper, magazine, or journal which frequently discusses intelligently and impartially the great municipal and national problems of the day. These discussions should be illustrated and free from pedantic or burdensome vocabulary. In the third place, every citizen should be actively identified with some political organization; and it is to be hoped that the time will come when the usefulness and honor of such an identification will be so apparent that it will be considered a privilege rather than an irksome duty. To say that the individual citizen should deal honestly with his fellow-men in business and pay honestly his taxes to the city would almost be to state a moral platitude. But it cannot be overemphasized that only by such common honesty can the people of Chicago achieve for their city that position of true civic eminence and greatness which so many believe to be its destiny.

"But how," it may pertinently be asked, "are these good and zealous high-minded citizens to be produced where they do not exist?" This is, indeed, a pertinent question, and is the very crux of the whole problem here under discussion. As a matter of fact, a very large proportion of the people of any one of our cities is made up of those who, through force of adverse circumstances or lack of contact with the sources of highest civilization, have not yet been able to appropriate their share of the race's accumulated fund of the means of culture and of self-government. Our whole unskilled, manual laboring population is composed almost entirely of the classes which have not yet advanced beyond the stage of impulsive and unreflective action. And the chief problem of democracy of our day, indeed, is to devise an effective method of enabling these classes to rise to their due position of intelligent self-direction. And this leads us to the question of the special social function and position of the public school.

## SECTION XXIV. WHAT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL MAY DO.

The public schools hold the strategic position in modern civilization. This is evident from two points of view. In the first place, one cannot help observing, in riding over the territory of a large city, how the public schools, almost alone of all institutions, are deliberately distributed where they are most needed. Almost all other institutions spring up and are located at haphazard, because in general they are not directed from any widely recognized and established center. Not only do the public schools hold the strategic position on account of their physical location, but also on account of that of which such location is but the symbol and outward expression, viz., their control of the ideas and ideals of the rising generation. What makes any industrial or social monopoly such a power for good or evil is that it is first a monopoly of the knowledge of the particular conditions of action—knowledge of particular inventions and discoveries. Modern industry has been so rapidly extending its territorial area through commerce that the managers, who have been able by superior advantages first to monopolize the knowledge of the commercial conditions, have been able to reap enormous incomes. If we are ever to have a democracy in the true sense of the word, it must be by enabling the less favored members of the community also to become conscious of the conditions of their daily activities. And here is the pre-eminent mission of the public school.

The question then arises: How may our public schools be made more efficient than at present in the diffusion of the important social truths most urgently needed by the rising generation? If we take stock of the present public-school curriculum, even in its best examples, such as we have in Chicago, we find that it consists substantially of the "three R's," "readin', 'ritin', and 'rithmetic," in much the same forms in which they were developed by the industrial demands of rural conditions fifty years ago, and in addition a host of "frills" and "flounces"—studies of nature, art, and literature, with some domestic and manual disciplines—which have not yet been thoroughly assimilated into the course.

Perhaps the most urgent need of the public-school curriculum

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today is to secure some systematic organization and correlation of the various kinds of studies, so as to see them in their due relations and reciprocal bearings upon one another. It is now generally agreed by educators that the basal principle for any thoroughgoing correlation of studies must be a statement of the system of interests of the pupil himself. If we try to determine the respective fields or subject-matters of the sciences, we find it possible to do so only as we regard them as the means for subserving or fulfilling the elementary human interests or wants. Thus, in a given square mile of territory, it is impossible to discover and distinguish a geological fact or a botanical fact or a medicinal fact, or an economic or artistic or political fact, without distinguishing them on the basis of the fundamental attitudes which mankind finds it necessary to take functionally toward the phenomena of which they are the statement. In other words, the sciences or studies are the formulation of the methods by which human interests realize themselves. Hence the studies of the curriculum must, both logically and practically, be correlated in accordance with the way in which they respectively serve to advance the satisfaction of the elemental human wants or social functions. And this statement would hold true as well for the special kinds of schools, such as medical, industrial, artistic, theological, etc., which are but particular and elaborate developments of special studies. Stating these relations in the form of a table, we get the accompanying correlation of studies and of schools with reference to their development of the six fundamental human interests.

Now, what is the use of this table? For our present purpose perhaps its chief use is to indicate the fact that the studies of the public school should be viewed and administered with respect to their special adaptation to developing and enriching the fundamental social interests, or typical tendencies in conduct, which every child brings with him into the schoolroom. For example, the child when he comes to school has already developed in the family and among his playmates certain forms of social, athletic, proprietary, artistic, and moral interests. In our great cities the child is vitally interested in all those social institutions and



practices going on about him, and daily determining his life. The old abstract study of pure arithmetical sums, spelling, reading, and writing, while important in their place, are no longer sufficient to give him a consciousness of his surroundings adequate to enable him, as he grows up, intelligently and effectively to direct his conduct. This fact is becoming more and more clearly perceived by educators in all parts of the country. An excellent example comes to hand in the pamphlet issued by the Northern Illinois Teachers' Association for its meeting of April, 1901, at Moline, Ill. In this pamphlet are two articles, one on "Sociological Teaching in Elementary Schools; the Essentials of Method," by Henry W. Thurston, of the Chicago Normal School, and the other, "Some Concrete Experiences," by Kate Starr Kellogg, principal of the Louis Champlain School of Chicago. In both of these articles is ably advocated the growing need for study, on the part of the elementary-school pupil, of the simpler aspects of city sanitation, fire protection, political management, industrial activity, etc. The essentials of these sociological methods, as summed up by Mr. Thurston, are: "That the child shall continually grow in consciousness of the actual and ideal functions of all the typical societies of which he is a member; that he shall continually grow in consciousness of his unity with the membership; and that he shall continually grow in the power of voluntary co-operation with his fellow-members, to the end that the ideal functions may be exercised."

A little search in different quarters reveals the fact that these ideas are already beginning to stir the minds of teachers elsewhere. For example, somewhat similar principles are being applied by Professor Charles W. French at the Hyde Park High School of Chicago through the organization of his school as a school city with regularly elected officials. The advantages of this organization, as stated by Mr. French and exemplified in the school, are (1) that it affords a means of realizing and practicing democratic self-government on the part of the pupil; (2) that it cultivates a spirit in favor of the best moral impulses in the school, instead of the worst, as frequently occurred under the old system of autocratic dominance; and (3) that it leads to a

wider interest in all civic and municipal affairs. Another example of the application of kindred principles is afforded by the courses offered by Miss Emily J. Rice<sup>1</sup> during the past year at the Chicago Institute. The courses involve industrial and sociological trips to various points and localities of interest throughout the city in connection with the study of local history, and the preparation of papers and exercises based upon the observations. An outline of some of these studies is so suggestive that it is inserted here. In this way the natural and vital interests of the pupils are taken advantage of to give them breadth and strength, and at the same time enable them to develop more fully in a natural way the facilities of writing, arithmetic, spelling, grammar, and the other traditional disciplines, by making them tributary to the child's inevitable efforts for satisfaction in the environment in which he must live.<sup>2</sup>

SYLLABUS OF A COURSE CONDUCTED WITH GRAMMAR-SCHOOL PUPILS BY MISS EMILY J. RICE, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, IN THE SUMMER OF 1900, AT THE CHICAGO INSTITUTE.

*Industrial and sociological trips in connection with the work in local history.*

- I. Visit a congested district. Collect so far as possible accurate data on the following topics :  
 Streets : width, pavement, gutters, park, sweeping, sprinkling.  
 Alleys : width, pavement, cleanliness, garbage boxes, garbage wagons, final destination of garbage.  
 Sidewalks.  
 Transportation : number of lines, points of communication, cost, time.  
 Houses : building line, lawns, materials, repairs, value, plumbing, fire protection, light, size, number of inhabitants, rent, owner.  
 Places of amusement.  
 Schools, and attendance.  
 Churches.  
 Occupation of the people.  
 Education of the people.  
 Business : quality of goods, prices.
2. Study Englewood according to previous outline. Also apply this outline to a fine residence district.

<sup>1</sup> Now of the University of Chicago School of Education.

<sup>2</sup> On this whole general subject see JOHN DEWEY, *The School and Society*; also A. W. SMALL, *The Demands of Sociology upon Pedagogy*, and JOHN DEWEY, *My Educational Creed* — a pamphlet published by the Kellogg Publishing Co., Chicago.

3. Study Stock Yard district as before.  
Added points : sewerage, smoke.  
Visit a foreign colony: occupation, education, English spoken, naturalized? naturalization laws.
4. Down-town conditions.  
Reasons for high buildings.  
Buildings : fire protection, light and air, size of offices, an instance of different interests represented in one building, rents.  
Streets, refuse boxes.  
Reason for concentration of business houses.  
Police service.  
Smoke.  
Street venders, license, begging.  
Causes of conditions and means of bettering them.  
Whenever the question of cause comes up, it should be considered, but not necessarily answered then. Collect more data, then consider the question again.
5. City government.  
Officers : duties, salaries, how appointed.  
Taxes : how levied, how collected, how used.  
Building regulations.  
Meat and milk regulations.  
Smoke regulations.  
Truant laws.  
System of parks : where placed, how maintained.  
Water and sewerage systems.  
Regulations of franchise.  
Visit city council, read city reports.
6. Settlements.  
Number, projectors, purpose.  
Visit settlement and collect data, number of residents, work of residents, number of visitors, number and character of clubs and classes, fitting of settlement building, expense of settlement, conditions and needs of community. History of settlement idea.
7. Visit Pullman. Study original plan.  
Purpose, effect, history.  
Plan an ideal community.  
Ideal tenement house, make plan, get prices of construction.  
Lay out small model of ideal community with ideal buildings.
8. Prisons, etc.  
What people need public care?  
Full list of Chicago institutions of public care.  
Individual or group reports on different prisons, reformatories, asylums, hospitals, poorhouse.  
Private charitable institutions : projectors, maintenance, method of work, effect of work.  
Most helpful kind of charity.

9. Industries.

Different industries represented in Chicago.

Numbers following them.

Comparative wages.

Upon what do wages depend?

Length of hours.

Overcrowded occupations.

Value of occupation to other people.

Danger and nervous strain of work.

Pleasure in work.

Division of labor : cause, effect.

Interrelation of different occupations.

Report on sweat-shops.

Building : light, ventilation, exits, fire protection, precautions against accidents, company's care for injured, space per worker.

Residence district : distance from business, relation between rent and wages.

Trades unions : organization, purpose, expense, effectiveness.

Study of William Morris.

10. Relation between Chicago and the country.

Telegraph and cable lines.

Telephone lines : visit telephone exchange.

Newspapers : visit an office.

Railroad and steamer lines : points of communication, cost of transportation, number of passengers in per day, number of passengers out per day, kinds and amounts of imports per day, exports per day, how are goods received? how distributed? number of hands through which goods pass, number of profits on goods. Visit commission houses on South Water street.

During the whole year carefully tabulated reports of all visits and readings and plans should be made and filed for record. Also art studies and photographs of people, places, and things should be made and filed. A blank map of Chicago should be gradually filled in, until at the end of the year it will show factories, schools, churches, parks, theaters, libraries, art galleries, museums, prisons, reformatories, asylums, hospitals, police stations, fire stations, car lines, railroads.

SECTION XXV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

In the present study we have, in the first place, surveyed, as a typical example of modern industry, the marvelous business development at the Chicago Stock Yards. We have endeavored to gain a detailed statement of the social conditions of the Stock Yard community, as compared with the wealthier Hyde Park community. On this basis, and with the aid of the examples and experience of progressive employers elsewhere, we have endeavored to point out some ways in which industry at the yards may be conducted with a greater measure of democratic





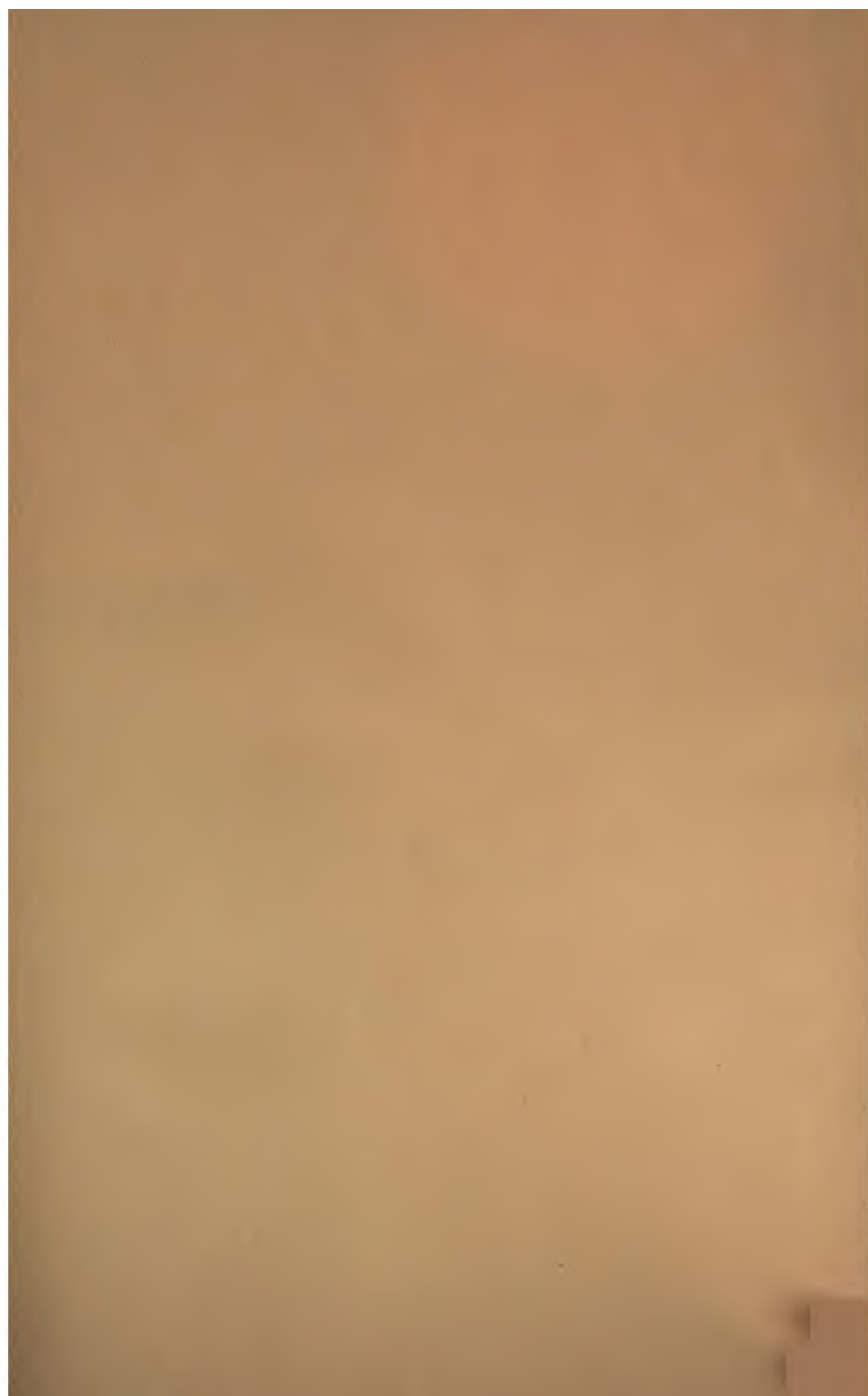
benefit to its locality. And, finally, we have tried to suggest some important constructive methods for developing true democracy throughout the community. We believe that no measures of reform, short of some such thoroughgoing system of publicity and practical sociological education as is here outlined, can ever still the turmoil of today's labor conflict, or make the early democratic hopes of the founders of the republic more than an illusive dream. For only when men become intelligently, morally, and masterfully conscious of the great forces that environ them can we have a truly organic society, maintaining itself through the free and normal participation of all of its members in all of its social functions.

CHAS. J. BUSHNELL.

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